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EGYPT,

AND MOHAMMED ALI;

&c. &c.

VOL. II.

" Visit veterum Thebarum magna vestigia; et manebant structis molibus litteræ Ægyptiæ, priorem opulentiam complexæ. . . . Aliis quoque miraculis intendit animum, quorum præcipua fuere Memnonis saxea effigies, ubi radiis solis icta est, vocalem sonum reddens: disjectasque inter et vix pervias arenas instar montium eductæ Pyramides, certamine et opibus regum: lacusque effossa humo, superfluentis Nili receptacula; atque alibi angustiæ, et profunda altitudo, nullis inquirentium spatiis penetrabilis. Exin ventum Elephantinen ac Syenen, claustra olim Romani Imperii."

TACIT. *Annal.* lib. ii. cap. 60, 61.

" How has kind heav'n adorn'd the happy land,
And scatter'd blessings with a wasteful hand!
But what avail her unexhausted stores,
Her blooming mountains, and her sunny shores,
With all the gifts that heaven and earth impart,
The smiles of nature, and the charms of art,
While proud oppression in her valleys reigns,
And tyranny usurps her happy plains?
The poor inhabitant beholds in vain
The redd'ning orange and the swelling grain:
Joyless he sees the growing oils and wines,
And in the myrtle's fragrant shade repines:
Starves, in the midst of nature's bounty curst,
And in the loaded vineyard dies of thirst." ADDISON.

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EGYPT,

AND

MOHAMMED ALI;

OR,

TRAVELS IN THE VALLEY OF THE NILE.

BY

JAMES AUGUSTUS ST. JOHN.

X-d-23

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THE FALSE PYRAMID.

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. II.

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EGYPT

AND MOHAMMED ALI;

&c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

RETURN INTO EGYPT — HAYT EL ADJOUR — VAST MOHAMMEDAN CEMETERY — ARABIC LEGEND — ELEPHANTINE — DANCING GIRLS OF ES-SOUAN — TEMPLE OF KOOM OMBOS — LARGE BLOCKS OF STONE — PORTICO OF THE GREAT TEMPLE — WORSHIP OF SATURN — SAKTI OF TYPHON — ORIGIN OF THE WORSHIP OF THE CROCODILE — HAJJAR SILSILIS — PRODIGIOUS QUARRIES — ANECDOTE OF AN ARAB — ANCIENT ROCK TEMPLES — MEET WITH AN ENGLISH GENTLEMAN — VILLAGE AND TEMPLE OF EDFOO — MAGNIFICENCE OF THE RUINS — ENORMOUS PROPYLON — ELEGANT PERISTYLE AND PORTICO — UNCLEAN HABITS OF THE ARABS — MYTHOLOGICAL SCULPTURES — INTERIOR OF THE TEMPLE — ASPECT OF THE TEMPLES OF EGYPT — HUMAN SACRIFICE — TYPHONIUM — GROTTOES OF EILITHYIAS — MEN BURNED ALIVE IN HONOUR OF BOUBASTA — SEPULCHRAL CHAMBERS — ANCIENT PAINTINGS — REAPING SCENE — HARVEST HOME — AN EGYPTIAN FEAST — CONDITION OF WOMEN — THE FUNERAL CEREMONY — ESNEH — THE COPTS — SCARABÆI AND ENGRAVED GEMS — AMULETS AND TALISMANS — CESTUS OF VENUS — PIETY OF THE ORIENTALS — APOLOGUE.

Tuesday, Feb. 5. *Koom Ombos.*

CCCCIII. HAVING in the ascent from Egypt into Nubia proceeded by the way of the river, I had seen nothing of the country lying between the mountains

from *Birbé** to *Es-Souan*. When the captain of the Cataract arrived, I therefore landed with my interpreter; and, taking asses at *Birbé*, followed the ordinary road towards the north, over a narrow sandy plain, or rather valley, winding between rocky precipitous mountains. It soon became evident that the Nile could never have flowed, according to the hypothesis of Norden, through this valley, since, as Burckhardt observes, the ground rises for about four miles, from Philæ towards Es-Souan, after which the descent is towards the north. At a short distance from Birbé begin the ruins of the *Hayt el Adjour*, or ancient brick wall, mentioned by Denon, and supposed by Burckhardt to have been intended as a defence against the inroads of the Bedouins of the eastern mountain, at the time when "á brisk overland transport trade" existed between Philæ and Syene. It is difficult to say for what purpose it was intended; but if the Bedouins of those days at all resembled their valiant descendants, nothing is more certain than that it could never have served as a defence against them. In one week they would have made breaches in it sufficiently wide to have admitted all the cavalry of the desert. And where were they when the wall was building? Nor was it, as the

* Here, according to Abou Selah, stones were anciently set up, marking the respective limits of Egypt and Nubia. "Between Nubia and the country of the Musulmans two stones are placed on a mountain, in the middle of the Nile; and opposite is a high and fortified castle called *Bilak*, containing well built houses and excavations, which are the work of the ancients." — *Quatremère, Mém. Géograph. sur l'Egypte*, t. i. p. 389.

natives pretend, the embankment of a canal. Where was the other embankment? Where were the sluices? Besides, it does not proceed for a certain distance on the same level, and then, where a sluice might have existed, rise perpendicularly, but gradually ascends and descends with the inequalities of the ground.

CCCCIV. About two miles from Birbé we observed, on the summit of a steep rocky hill, a small square building, the appearance of which from below was picturesque; but on ascending the rocks I found it to be merely a house of clay, the dwelling-place, perhaps, of some Mohammedan anchorite. A little farther is a very neat edifice, with water-jars for the traveller, and a large clean chamber open to the north. The aspect of the precipices bordering the road is bold and striking, rising in black pyramidal masses, in many places chiselled with hieroglyphics and the figures of gods. About two miles and a half from *Es-Souan* commences that extensive Mohammedan cemetery, containing, according to Makrizi, the remains of twenty-one thousand persons, who, about the year 806 of the Hejira, perished of the plague. But to such extravagant relations no credit is due. The ancient Saracen town, whose extent can still be traced, was never, I imagine, sufficiently peopled to furnish the plague with so many victims, even had it swept off the whole of its inhabitants; and a large proportion must have survived to have erected so many grave-stones. The popular tradition appropriates these monuments to sixty thousand prophets, or holy

men, who flourished in former ages at *Es-Souan.* They are about two feet in height, by sixteen inches in breadth; and the inscriptions, in neatly-engraved characters, are of considerable length. Many have been trampled down, or broken: but fortunately there exists among the natives a superstitious belief that whoever violates the sanctity of these graves will be stricken with immediate death; in proof of which they relate a story of a drunken Turk, who, to show his contempt for the saints, fired his pistol at one of the tombs, staggered forward a few paces, and dropped down dead. I saw the mark of the ball, which seemed to be quite recent; but for the fate of the Moslem I cannot vouch. Among these humble monuments are many more sumptuous mausolea, consisting of a neat dome resting on four arches, or on a square basis. Alighting at the commencement of the cemetery, we proceeded to Es-Souan on foot, in company with an Arab lady, attended by a number of female slaves. She was young, but large and robust, and wore loose trowsers, like a man.

CCCCV. At Es-Souan I found my own kandjia waiting on the shore. The captain and crew appeared exceedingly rejoiced at my return, crowding round me, and kissing my hands, after the manner of the East. Monro arriving soon after, we prepared to depart immediately. As my boat was putting off from the shore, *Mr. Hoskins,* whom I had met at Philæ, came up in company with an Italian artist, intending to proceed across the desert to Sennaar. I now once

more visited the island of *Elephantine*, in search of those elegant Nubian baskets, of a greyish-white colour, variegated with numerous fanciful ornaments in bright red, manufactured by the women from the leaves of the date tree. Among the dancing girls who came down to entertain us with their performances, on the banks of the river, there was one young woman evidently of French extraction; who, though pale, and in ill health, possessed a fine oval countenance, with very pleasing features: she did not dance, however, but accompanied the music with her voice. The dancers were two little girls, the one a good-looking *Berber*, about fourteen or fifteen; the other an Arab girl, somewhat older. Their performance was equally lascivious with that of the Caireen Almé. The little *Berber* had a look of perfect innocence, and seemed not to think herself degraded by labouring in her vocation; but her companion, though wanton and impudent, appeared conscious of debasement. The weather being exceedingly calm I descended the stream rapidly, and soon overtook the other boat, which had started some hours before. It was already late when we arrived at *Koom Ombos;* but the moon affording a brilliant light, I spent the evening among the ruins.

Wednesday, Feb. 6. *Hajjar Silsilis.*

CCCCVI. *Koom Ombos*, situated on an eminence rising considerably above the surrounding country, is visible from afar, and, though the great temple is now half buried, its appearance is picturesque and magnifi-

cent. Formerly, a lofty brick wall, intended to protect it from the encroachment of the desert, surrounded the whole edifice, forming an extensive court; but this is now partly destroyed. On the outside of the enclosure, as about the rocks of *Silsilis*, we find a great number of silk trees. To the south of the lofty eminence on which the ruins are situated, at the very foot of the wall, is a deep muddy valley, annually overflowed by the river, where sedge and long grass, whose rankness proves its fertility, now unprofitably occupy the soil. The most prominent object, at the first view, is what seems to be one wing of a vast propylon, though it does not appear how it could have been united to the other wing, if there ever existed one. It may have been simply a kind of turret, erected for show, in the corner of the great brick enclosure. From its back, indeed, which exhibits no traces of sculpture, we discover it to have been connected with some lofty wall or edifice: the other sides are adorned with hieroglyphics and bas reliefs. This pyramidal turret rises to the height of about one hundred and fifty feet above the river, and its base is encumbered with enormous blocks of stone * from above, covered with figures of the sacred vulture.

CCCCVII. From this point we ascended to the great temple, which possesses no propylon. The portico is still distinguished by an aspect of extraordinary grandeur, in spite of the sands which almost

* One of these blocks measured 21 feet 2 inches in length; 8 feet 10 inches in breadth; and 7 feet 6 inches in depth.

conceal the splendid doorways of the cella, and cover the shafts of the columns *, with all their hieroglyphics and sculptured gods, nearly to the top of the skreen, which, as usual, closed up the exterior intercolumniations. Perhaps, however, the burying of this tasteless adjunct of Egyptian porticoes, with the total overthrow of the lateral walls, may contribute towards giving the whole front of the edifice that classical majestic appearance which distinguishes it from the ordinary temples of the country. On the columns, thirteen of which are still standing, the ornament most frequently repeated is the cobra di capello, in pairs, adorned with the mitre of Isis, and bearing the symbol of the masculo-feminine deity, suspended by the ring from its tail. Among the hieroglyphics, but by no means a prominent figure, is the crocodile on an altar, and the mitred hierosphynx, frequently repeated, alternating with the vulture with outspread wings. On the face of the stone beams which support the roof of the pronaos are gods in boats, with stars beneath their feet, receiving the adoration of their votaries. In some places these figures would appear to have been originally sculptured across the beam and pronaos, — particularly that of Boubasta, who, until you discover the faintly marked form of the boat on which she stands, appears to be lying on her back. Another bark, crossing this at right angles, contains the figure of Aroëris, who seems to be contemplating the form of the goddess stretched upon the ground, holding an unbent bow in the left hand, and, as I

* These columns measure 19 feet 10 inches in circumference; which, in round numbers, may be called 20 feet.

imagine, — but the figure is very dim, — an arrow in the right, which is pressed upon her breast. If this was her original position, she would appear to be preparing to shoot upwards; a circumstance which, considering the very peculiar character of the Egyptians, may have had some mysterious signification.

CCCCVIII. The various compartments of the ceiling are covered with figures of the sacred vulture. On all other Egyptian temples which I have seen, the winged globe, with a serpent springing forth from either side, occupies the centre of the cornice, directly over the entrance. But here, the arrangement of the structure being different, we find on the superbly painted cornice two winged globes, marking the approaches to the two grand doorways, adorned in the usual manner, with frieze, torus, and cornices. On the façade of the cella, we find, among many other gods, the extraordinary figure of Soukos *, Kronos, or Saturn, with the head of the

* This is the orthography of Strabo; but Spanheim, who supposes it to have been an appellation of the crocodile itself, writes Σοῦχις. "Varia autem crocodilorum apud Egyptios nomina; neque unam speciem ekstitisse, vel inde liquet, quod sicuti δενδρίτης Hesychio Crocodilus superiori nummo, ut videtur expressus, ita occurrebat mihi nuper apud Damascium in vita Isidori, Σοῦχις ὄνομα δὲ Κροκοδείλου καὶ εἶδος, *Souchis vero nomen et species Crocodili.* Unde emendabam Strabonem, cui Σοῦχος idem vocatur, et quem apud Arsinoitas cultum docet. Illam enim terminationem in *is*, Egyptiis familiarem cum aliunde novi, tum ex pleraque locorum ita desinentium apud eos terminatione, Stephano Byzantio frequenter indicata; unde Strabonis potius quam Photii Codices in ea voce emendandos liquet. At vero haud male ita dictos id genus Crocodilos liceret statuere, quod non in paludibus solum, sed etiam in antris ac speluncis, Diospoliatarum exemplo, ut paulo ante è Stephano videbamus, alerentur, סכה, *souccha*, certe Hebræis (quibus multa cum Ægyptiorum idiomate communia notarunt eruditi),

crocodile, emblematic of time, according to the sacerdotal doctrine. He is seated on a throne, with a votary presenting offerings before him, and bears the sceptre, and the ordinary symbol of the gods. His mitre is correctly represented by Champollion, who observes that the témple was erected in the reigns of Ptolemy Philometer, and Ptolemy Euergetes II., to this god, conjointly with Aroëris. But the Greek inscription, or dedication, correctly copied and published by Hamilton, makes no mention of Soukos or Kronos, though he may, perhaps, have been included among the Συνναοι Θεοι; nor does he occupy the most prominent position among the bassi relievi. From the serpent on his brow we discover the worshipper who approaches him to be a king, probably one of the Ptolemies. Behind the throne of Soukos is another divinity, bearing on his head the crescent of *Siva*, with the full moon between its horns, perhaps the *Piioh* or *Ioh* of the Egyptians, though wearing the emblems and usurping the attitude of *Phthah*. Among the hieroglyphics near this group is a figure crouching in a reverential posture before the symbol of life, the mysterious Delta. The figure of *Soukos* appears twice on the southern and once on the northern doorway. On the front wall of the cella, above the cornice, runs a row of cobra di capellos with their heads surmounted by the globe, and extending the whole length of the pronaos.

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antrum et spelunca, unde et *Succhæos* seu Troglodytas inter militantes Ægyptiorum Regi Chronicorum auctori commemoratos, deducebat in suo Phaleg doctissimus Bochartus." — *De Præstantia et usu Numist. Antiq.* p. 150.

CCCCIX. Creeping with difficulty through the great doorway on the left, and crossing a narrow chamber, we observe the façade of another cella, and on the edge of its projecting cornice the Greek inscription mentioned above, the characters of which are two inches and a half in height, and very beautifully formed. This small temple, apparently the nucleus of the whole ruin, is probably the only part of the edifice of the age of the Ptolemies; the remainder was certainly erected at a subsequent period. One of the stones on the roof measured twenty-three feet in length and five in breadth. In the chamber next the adytum, Isis and Osiris-Hierax, or Aroëris, — were they the same? — are represented on thrones, approached by a devotee, with a very extraordinary mitre, the globe between two feathers resting on twisted horns like the thunderbolts of Jupiter, and on this globe is a figure representing the horse's head and the human eye. All the chambers are in a very ruinous condition, and nearly filled with sand.

CCCCX. The small temple of Isis, on the edge of the precipice, mentioned by Hamilton, has now been undermined and overthrown by the river; a fate with which the greater ruin also is menaced, for the whole hill will be gradually eaten away by the Nile, that, after flowing towards the east, here makes a sudden bend to regain its northerly direction, and, in sweeping round, rushes with prodigious violence against the opposing bank. I saw one of the capitals which had adorned the portico of this edifice, square like

those of the great temple of Déndera, and containing on each of its four sides the sculptured face of the goddess. A small portion of one of the lateral walls remains, covered with very extraordinary figures; among which is the hippopotamus, with one long pendant breast, like those of the Egyptian women who have nursed many children. The forelegs of the monster, which walks erect, and has a very serious aspect, terminate in human hands, in one of which it bears a remarkable form of the kteis-phallus. To this succeeds another hippopotamus, with a crocodile's head, and a woman's breast and hands. Being female figures, they probably represent *Nephthys*, the wife of Typhon, who, having intrigued with Osiris, may in Isis's temple have been represented ugly through revenge. The cobra di capello, or uræus, is also found here, with a worshipper before it. This, however, occurs every where; but near it is a figure, found, I believe, in no other temple—*a goddess with the head of an ibis;* representing, perhaps, the *sakti*, or female energy, of *Thoth Ibiocephalus*, who stands beside her. Near this group is a small crocodile upon an altar.

CCCCXI. The worship of the crocodile, that prevailed among the inhabitants of Ombos, Coptos, Tachompso, and of Arsinoe in the Fayoom, formed a part of the Egyptian system of animal worship*,

* In the Sermons of the Rev. Henry Stebbing, equally replete with piety and poetry, there occurs a splendid passage on the spirit of the ancient systems of idolatry, in which the worship of the elements, and

into the origin and causes of which the learned have hitherto been unable to penetrate. Ignorant and savage nations, however, have always leaned more or less towards fetichism, a form of superstition still existing in Africa. Whatever is supposed capable of conferring a benefit, or inflicting an injury, they exalt into a god. The cow is adored from gratitude, because it bestows milk; the lion and the crocodile from fear, because they carry death in their jaws. Similar motives gave rise to the worship of the serpent, and all the other noxious creatures which have been deified by superstition. This species of idolatry,

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other created things, is traced to an obscure persuasion of the universal presence of God: — "The whole system of heathen mythology, all that strange and complicated mass which formed the religion of so many generations and countries, was only held together by this principle, — was only rendered, in any measure, capable of controlling the minds of its votaries by this single particle which it retained of divine truth, — by this belief, which it encouraged and illustrated, which amid all its grossness and falsehoods it confirmed, — that God is of necessity every where, that nothing takes place without the intervention of the Deity, — that to forget his presence, is to forget that he exists. It was thus that both the earth and the air, and the fathomless depths of the sea, became filled, in their imaginations, with living powers. Not a fountain sprung in its beauty from the cleft rock but it was hallowed with the name of Deity. Not a glade of the forest was visited, when the new spring had filled it with fragrance, and awakened its buds, but every green and bowery tree was viewed with awe, as the sanctuary of a god. Did the winds blow hoarsely from their caves? They were believed to breathe the living voices of divine spirits. Was the lofty tower or monument struck with the thunderbolt, who believed not that it was the shaft of the God of gods? Even the seasons changed not, it was felt, without the presiding power of the Divinity. The hours performed their harmonious rounds as living spirits; and when the bright rainbow girdled the storm cloud, what eye was not raised to heaven with a worshipping glance — who believed not that the dewy web veiled a Deity in its folds?" — P. 365.

still prevalent in Hindoostan, was in all probability the original religion of Egypt; where, on the first dawn of civilisation, the priests, even if their interests had allowed them to conceive the desire, found it too widely spread and too deeply rooted to be overthrown. But it was more congruous with their crafty and selfish character to give it a place in their system, in which a variety of jarring creeds, suited to the capacities of those to whom they were revealed, seem to have been jumbled together. To the gross apprehensions of the vulgar, the bull, the cow, the crocodile, the ichneumon, the cat, were so many deities; while the initiated, on the other hand, admitted behind the veil of symbol and allegory, if they did not altogether despise these terrestrial gods, regarded them only as so many vessels animated by distinct emanations from the universal soul. Such, at least, is the history of the establishment of Brahminism in India. The propagators of the new religion, finding they could not subdue the attachment to the ancient superstitions, in which the spirits of the mountains, the rivers, trees, plants, animals, and the generative and destructive powers, were honoured with certain rites and ceremonies, engrafted their own system upon the old trunk, and allowed both to flourish together; but the Brahmins, while they encourage the inferior castes to worship the bull, as the representative of *Siva*, by no means pay it adoration themselves. All the other sacred animals of India are in the same manner regarded by the learned in their proper light; and this seems to be an exact counterpart of what

took place in Egypt, where the god of the Ombites was considered by the priests merely as the symbol of time, which, like that voracious animal, is devouring and destructive. The crocodile, however, as well as the hippopotamus and the ass, was also a symbol of *Typhon*. But who was Typhon? Identical, perhaps, with *Soukos*, Kronos, Saturn, the universal enemy of men and gods, who has destroyed not only Osiris, but all his brethren and offspring, and now sits among their ruined fanes, gradually crumbling away their ruins, and scattering them over the sands of the desert.

CCCCXII. Having completed the examination of these ruins, we dropped slowly down the river, against a contrary wind, to *Hajjar Silsilis*, where, landing at the foot of the eastern mountains, we found the most extensive and extraordinary quarries in Egypt, perhaps in the world. Though the excavations begin not immediately, marks of the tool are every where visible, and we therefore examined carefully each rent and opening in the mountain. No monuments existing above ground convey so grand an idea of the labours of the Egyptians as these quarries, the most remarkable of all their works. Passages, wide as streets, cut in the rock, rising perpendicularly to the height of fifty or sixty feet on either side, sometimes straight, at other times winding, extend from the brink of the river into the very bowels of the mountain; where the rock has been cut away, and spaces cleared equal in dimensions to the greatest

squares in London. Towards the north are seen innumerable chambers, like the dwelling-places of the Titans, and prodigious colonnades, extending round the base of the mountains. The rough hewn irregular roof is supported by huge square or polygonal columns of solid rock, in many cases eighty or a hundred feet in circumference. On the slope of the mountain overlooking the river I found the sphynx described by Hamilton, but its head has been broken off. The crio-sphynxes I could nowhere discover. Enormous blocks of stone, completely severed from the mountain, are placed upon smaller ones, ready to be removed; and others, still more vast, had been cut and carried away; the places whence they were taken exceeding forty feet in length. The Arab who accompanied me, astonished at the extent and depth of the quarries, which would have furnished materials for all the cities of the East, exclaimed, — "Wallah! (by God) if those *kafirs* had existed up to the present time, they would have cut away every vestige of the mountain!"

CCCCXIII. I remained several hours among these solitary rocks, admiring the deep narrow passages, resembling the streets of a great city — the endless excavations — the prodigious mounds thrown forth from the quarries — the tablets — the antique inscriptions — the huge blocks of stone. In the ravines on the eastern side of the mountain I for some time lost my attendant, despatched in search of a particular avenue loosely indicated by a former

traveller, while I myself continued my researches in another direction. Some time after I found him among the rocks, staring, pale, a ludicrous personification of terror; and on inquiring the reason, he replied that in a small cavity of the hill he had suddenly encountered an animal which he had mistaken for a lion. Fear chained him to the spot. His eyes grew dim (perhaps he closed them); but finding the monster make no attempt to devour him, he ventured to regard it more narrowly, and found it to be a camel, lying down eating straw among the rocks.

CCCCXIV. The day drawing towards its close, we crossed to the western bank, where numerous quarries and small rock temples are likewise found, apparently the more ancient works. Here, near the northern extremity of the strait, we observed, in one of the rude hypogea, a few remarkable groups and figures. The temple, consisting of two chambers, a greater and a less, is entered by five doorways, in the spaces between which deep niches contain a number of figures in alto relievo, too much mutilated to allow of our determining whether they were gods or mortals. In the adytum, as in the Nubian rock temples, is a large niche containing seven figures, represented standing on a stone bench, originally executed coarsely, and now wantonly mutilated. On the northern wall I observed Isis, Osiris, Bouto, Athor, and other deities, moving in the train of Anubis. On the side of one of the doorways is a human figure, with what seemed to be a horse's

head, greatly defaced. In another part are Isis and Osiris; to whom a votary is making an offering of three lotuses and a child's head, with a tuft of hair on the crown as worn at present. On the opposite side a figure presents to the same divinities the symbol of the double-sexed god; from all which it would appear that these rock temples were dedicated to the worship of gods analogous in character to *Kal* and *Kali*, whose horrid altars have always been smeared in India with human blood.

Thursday, Feb. 7. *Edfoo.*

CCCCXV. There being nothing on this part of the river to invite our landing, except a few crocodiles on the sand banks, and Monro having gone forward towards Thebes, we continued all day on board. Making, however, some way, we moored about sunset on the western bank, a little above *Edfoo*, or Apollinopolis Magna; nearly an hour to the south of which we met Mr. Godfrey Levinge, who was proceeding alone into Nubia. From him I learned the first European news I had heard for several months. He also informed me of the destruction of the Sultan's army, and the capture of the Grand Vizir. But the most interesting portion of his intelligence was, that he had left at Thebes a packet of letters, among which there might probably be some for me. The distance between *Edfoo* and *Karnak* now seemed trebled,—but I abstain from dwelling on my personal feelings.

Friday, Feb. 8. *Esneh.*

CCCCXVI. Taking along with me Suleiman and another Arab, I left the kandjia early, and walked across the country to *Edfoo*, which is situated at some distance from the river. The Baroness Minutoli was somewhere told, she says, that this place is denominated by the Arabs, *Atbah*, which, according to the interpretation given her, means, "without trees." If this be the case, the name must be derived after the fashion of *lucus* from *non lucendo;* for the date-palms of the village are numerous; but the natives, in reality, know the place by no other name than *Edfoo*, and have never heard of *Atbah*, of which they do not even understand the meaning. Notwithstanding that its approaches are encumbered by the mud huts of the peasantry, which are peculiarly noisome and filthy, this temple must undoubtedly strike the beholder, whose judgment is unfettered by system, as by far the noblest religious structure in Egypt. The genuine Egyptian antiquarian refuses to admire it, because Rameses the Second was not concerned in its erection, which must be attributed wholly to the Greeks. But the traveller, who judges by the impressions made upon his mind, not according to the hypotheses which may happen to be in vogue, will probably differ on many points from the mere antiquarian.

CCCCXVII. The vast pyramidal propylon, two hundred and twenty feet in length, and one hundred

feet high, covered with colossal representations of the mysterious gods of Egypt, engaged in or sanctioning the most bloody rites, first commands attention. Entering the lofty gateway, through which the Sons of Anak might have passed without stooping, we find ourselves in a spacious dromos, adorned with a beautiful peristyle of thirty-two columns, whose richly spreading capitals, and luxuriant ornaments, have been but little injured by barbarism or time. To this succeeds the pronaos, containing eighteen columns, disposed in six rows, three on either side; and the exterior intercolumniations not having been built up, the effect of these majestic shafts, with their varied, but magnificent capitals of lotus, doum, and palm leaves, their mysterious sculpture and dusky hue, is peculiarly grand. But the Arabs have contrived to render it as difficult to remain long in this portico, as to sit down in the *Cloaca Maxima* at Rome, or to walk through the ditches of a fortified city in France.

CCCCXVIII. In spite, however, of the loathsome smells, we proceeded with the examination of the sculpture, retiring occasionally into the dromos, to breathe a purer air. The walls, the beams, the plinths, the friezes, the columns, are richly adorned with mysterious characters and symbolical figures: all the deities of Egypt seem to be assembled here, some in boats, others moving in procession towards them with offerings, others seated on thrones surrounded by devout worshippers. Among the most frequent

and prominent figures is that of the hawk,—the symbol of Aroëris-Apollo, the divinity of the temple, —with outspread wings, between which is a long round topped feather, with a large ring on the quill. Upon its head it bears a figure of the sun, with the *Urœus* on either side of the disk. This serpent, whose crest is adorned with a diminutive globe, is represented standing on a large basin or vase, emblematical, perhaps, of the passive principle of nature, the mother of all things. M. Champollion considers this to be the symbol of Thoth, or Hermes Trismegisthus; but I see no reason for coinciding in this opinion. On the eastern wall, the figure of Thoth is thrice repeated, standing with uplifted hands before a boat filled with gods, in which occurs another figure of the same divinity. As the Egyptians, according to Cicero, were acquainted with two Hermæ, the one in the boat may be the superior, the offspring of the Nile; the other, the inferior and more modern deity. But even in the boat we find Thoth exhibited as an inferior, that is, making an offering to a divinity, probably *Lunus* or *Piooh*, with a lion's head, surmounted by a crescent, like the *Siva* of the Hindoos. Beside the crescent, a small disk is likewise observed among the tresses of his hair. The offering made by *Thoth* consists of the horse's head with the human eye,—emblematic of the union of knowledge with power,—and it is worthy of remark that this curious symbol is found among the hieroglyphics connected with the moon. In the middle of the boat containing these divinities is a vast globe, probably

that of the full moon, upon the centre of which this symbolical figure is again found; with rows of crouching figures, each seven in number, crossing the globe above and below, while five hawks, emblematic of the sun, appear beyond the disk, as if keeping watch over it. Near these is the steersman, who directs the motions of the boat.

CCCCXIX. On the cornice of the ancient temple, — for the pronaos, propylon, and casing are more modern than the cella, — is a globe resting on a kind of altar, bearing on its disk a scarabæus with two heads, the one that of the hawk, the other of the horse, with the human eye; the latter surmounted by a high complicated mitre, the former by a small globe. Above the larger disk, containing the scarabæus, symbolical of the sun, is a lesser orb, enclosing the greater planet between its outspread wings, as if to be impregnated by its rays; here we discover a physical allegory, representing the influence of the sun upon the earth. Close to this group is the *Uræus*, or Agathodæmon, with a pair of vast wings. On one of the beams we find the scarabæus standing on the winged orb of the sun, with a ball between his claws. Chemmis, or Priapus Orthophallus, with his hand in the mystic van, occurs on the plinths; and the sides of the beams are decorated with innumerable figures of Isis, seated behind each other in endless succession. The cella projects slightly into the pronaos; and on the lateral wall, uniting it with the external casing, is an enormous figure of the Uræus with outspread

wings twisted round the stalk of a lotus, and crowned with the pschent and lituus.

CCCCXX. The interior of the temple, consisting of broad corridors, lofty narrow passages, with chambers, spacious and most richly adorned, is every way worthy of the exterior. In the great central hall, I counted twelve columns, with bell-formed capitals, surmounted by low plinths, (not visible from the pavement below) which support the enormous stone beams sustaining the whole weight of the Cyclopean roof. The walls are covered with hieroglyphics and figures of the gods; but the stench and suffocating air of the place, into which the fresh breezes have not, perhaps, found their way for more than a thousand years, absolutely forbade my entering into a minute examination of them. Besides, the whole of the apartment is so choked up with sand and accumulated filth, that nothing below the capitals of the columns, in some places only the plinths, are visible. In passing under the beams, it was necessary to work our way lying flat on our faces like snakes, while the unsavoury dust rose in clouds, entering our mouths, throats, lungs, and eyes, and dimming the light of the tapers. As the Arabs proceeded, sometimes behind, sometimes before me, I could hear them breathe like asthmatic persons; and they were exceedingly rejoiced when I gave the signal for retreat. By far the greater part of the interior, the adytum, and all the apartments in the northern extremity, are inaccessible; — and to discover those we entered, the traveller must

explore the hovels on the roof, into which he is admitted reluctantly, and by whose inhabitants he will be told that no entrance into the interior exists. In one of the huts on the western side there is, however, a small hole, bored through the cornice of the ancient cella, through which he must creep, like a rat, into the temple; wherefore many travellers omit visiting the interior.

CCCCXXI. The whole edifice is surrounded by a lofty wall, sculptured and adorned like the cella. Standing on the northern extremity of this inclosure, I beheld with admiration the immense length and noble proportions of the pile, still nearly perfect, which may be undoubtedly regarded as one of the finest structures in the world. Before I speak of the exterior bas-reliefs, I shall make one remark on the position of Egyptian temples, with respect to the cardinal points. Some travellers maintain that all these edifices, excepting the one at *Koom Ombos*, face the east; an unaccountable error only to be explained by supposing that, having neglected to examine the point while in the country, they afterwards, in support of some fanciful theory, made the assertion at random. The notion, however, is entirely unfounded. I remember but three in all Egypt which face the East: the small structure at *Déndera*, vulgarly called the Typhonium; the chapel said to be dedicated to the same deity at this place, and the temple of Bouto at Esneh. Venus's magnificent fane at *Déndera* faces almost due north, where, according to the

Hindoos, the land of the gods is situated *; that of Luxor, and the Pyramids, the greatest of all the sacred edifices of Egypt, have also their grand entrances towards the north. The temple of Ombos faces the west†; and, from the relations of former travellers, it would seem that the front of that of Antæopolis was turned in the same direction. The great temples of *Karnak*, *Medinet Habou*, *Edfoo*, and *Philæ* have their faces towards the south. The sacred edifices of Nubia, in like manner, follow no rule, being turned some in one direction, some in another.

CCCCXXII. To return to the sculptures of *Edfoo:* the principal figures on the propylon are Neith and Aroëris,—commonly identified with the Minerva and Apollo of the Greeks,—the latter with the head of the hawk. Before these deities,—to show that all the gods of Egypt delighted in human blood,—a human sacrifice is offered up. This representation occupies the whole length of one wing of the propylon, an extent of more than one hundred feet, and, according to custom, the sacrifice is repeated on both sides of the entrance. Above this group is a row of smaller figures, among which the principal are those

* Asiat. Research. vol. viii. p. 416.

† The rock temples of Benihassan face the west; that of Boubasta, or the Speos Artimidos, has its front towards the north. This, also, if we may judge from the position of the fallen architrave, containing the inscription, was the case with the temple of Pan at *Ekhmim*; and Herodotus relates that the grand Hephæsteum, or temple of Vulcan at Memphis, had its principal front towards the north.

of the Isis Leænata, Aroëris, and Thoth; and on each end of the propylon, Isis Leænata and Aroëris again occur, seated on thrones, the one above the other, alternately, from bottom to top. Sculptures of similar character and import cover all the exterior walls of the cella; at the northern extremity of which are two lions' heads, projecting on a slab containing a small square channel like a water-spout.

CCCCXXIII. At a short distance to the south-west is the small peripteral temple, or Typhonium, now almost totally destroyed. The only reason for supposing it to have been sacred to the enemy of Osiris, seems to be derived from the ludicrous ornament on the plinths, a short-legged, round-bellied god, like the Silenus of the Greeks,—whose countenance, however, displays nothing horrible, but rather resembles a merry buffoon, more familiar with good cheer than with plots and assassinations. From the prevalent symbols on the walls—could any inference be drawn from them—I should rather suppose it to have been a temple of Priapus or Venus Pandemos; though all the figures are not of the same character, since we find, among many representations of a wanton description, the chaste and matronly Isis, suckling the infant Horus, and at the same time turning round with a look of deep affection towards Aroëris. In another compartment we observe Horus standing on the knees of Osiris, who affectionately sustains him with both his hands; a group to which nothing similar occurs on any other Egyptian monument. In

the centre of the adytum, is a single column, which appears to have always formed the sole support of the roof. On the frieze we find Soukos, or Kronos, with a crocodile's head, and huge mis-shapen body, close to Isis, who is engaged in suckling Horus; and at one remove from the goddess, his figure again occurs, in both cases proceeding towards her. If this god be identical with Typhon, as there is some reason for supposing, it is not a little extraordinary to find him, as we often do, in company with his eternal enemies, apparently on terms of amity, conversing or worshipped together.

CCCCXXIV. From *Edfoo* we descended the river to *El Higgs*, the ancient *Eilithyias*. The north wind, blowing impetuously nearly all day, rendered rowing almost impracticable; but by persevering in our struggle against it, we, somewhat late in the afternoon, reached the site of the ancient city, enclosed by a prodigious brick wall, thirty feet in thickness. On our way to the grottoes, we traversed the enclosed space; where all traces of dwellings have long disappeared, and the ground is covered with a plant, called by the Arabs, *Bellyéhah*, somewhat resembling *Senna*, but so bitter, that even the camel refuses to feed on it. The temples, in one of which human victims were immolated to Boubasta, have now been reduced to shapeless heaps of stones*; not

* These victims, according to one ancient authority, were burned alive: — καὶ γὰρ ἐν Ειληθύιας πόλει ζῶντας ἀνθρώπους κατεπίμπρασαν, ὡς Μανέθων ἱστόρηκε, Τυφωνίους καλοῦντες, καὶ τὴν τέφραν αὐτῶν λικμῶντες ἠφάνιζον

a column being left standing. The sepulchral grottoes, now the only objects at Eilithyias which the traveller needs pause to examine, are found in the southern face of the mountain, about two miles north-east of the city; and are extremely numerous, though three only deserve particular attention. And, indeed, when I had beheld the private tombs of *Gournou*, even these, so much vaunted by travellers, appeared to lose much of their importance. Being insignificant in dimensions, their only merit consists in the scenes represented on the walls, which, however contemptible as works of art, are not without interest, regarded as illustrations of Egyptian manners.

CCCCXXV. The paintings, now much mutilated, are various; and were, perhaps, as Hamilton conjectures, intended to describe, in a pictorial narrative, the series of events, or rather occupations, of which the history of the inmate consisted, — all of a rural nature, reaping, winnowing, pulling, and unbolling flax, fishing, fowling, and the merry labours of the vintage. The third of the greater tombs, reckoning from the river, appears to have chiefly

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καὶ διέσπειρον. — *Plutarch. de Iside et Osiride*, p. 380. — Typhon being supposed to have had red hair, the persons selected to be immolated on these horrid altars were also red-haired. — *Jablonski, Pantheon Ægyptiorum*, t. ii. p. 69. The red-haired girl, whose body we found among the crocodiles at Maabdé, had perhaps been one of the victims of Boubasta or Osiris, though her remains escaped the funeral pile. D'Anville, in his Epitome of Ancient Geography, alludes to these sacrifices: — "*Elethyia*, ou ville de Lucine, avoit un autel souillé de victimes humaines." t. iii. p. 37.

interested Hamilton; the only fault of whose elaborate and masterly description is, that it gives a far too favourable idea of these grottoes. I chiefly confine myself to the first hypogeum, in which, beginning with the artist, at the exterior extremity of the left hand wall, we find, in the second compartment, a carriage drawn by two horses, apparently waiting for the owner; with a groom on foot holding the reins and repressing the ardour of his steeds. Next occurs a company of reapers, with sickles in their hands, in a field; where, to dispel any ideas of pastoral simplicity and rural happiness, to which our ignorant admiration of remote ages and their patriarchal manners might give birth, we discover, close behind, the overseer, brandishing a whip, like a negro-driver; the wisdom of the Egyptians having been able to discover no other excitement to labour than flogging. The corn having been thrashed and winnowed in the field, as is the present practice of the Arabs, it is conveyed to the garner in large baskets, slung upon poles, and carried between two men. Women, like Ruth in the field of Boaz, are next seen, gleaning up the scattered ears into small baskets. Then follows a large chasm in the wall.

CCCCXXVI. We must now suppose the corn to be safely housed, and preparations making for the feast of the harvest-home. The President Goguet's commiseration is excited at finding no mention of game or *ragouts* among the descriptions of patriarchal feasts in the sacred writings; and, from this circumstance,

infers that such viands were unknown in those early ages. But the natives of Eilithyias were not quite so simple in their taste; for we see the sportsman returning from the chase, with his bow and quiver in his hand, and a well filled game-bag slung across his shoulder. Next comes the feast. Women, according to some historians, had in ancient Egypt, as at Sparta, the most complete ascendancy over their husbands, whose houses and fortunes they governed despotically. Here both sexes, though not seated together, appear to be on terms of perfect equality; the male guests, sixteen in number, being ranged on chairs, on one side of the apartment, while the women, likewise sixteen, occupy the other. The master of the house, who mingles not with his guests, occupies a throne at one end of the apartment, and beside him, on the same seat, is his wife, with her right arm about his neck. Before them are several domestics awaiting their orders, among whom are two female musicians; one, seated on the ground, playing on a harp of seven strings, which rests upon her knees; while the other touches a four-chorded crescent-shaped instrument, held awkwardly on the shoulder. In the middle of the banquetting room, on a large table, piled with provisions, we observe a bull's head, cooked with the horns on; and beside it a whole quarter of the same animal; from which it is quite clear that the Egyptians ate the relations of their god Apis, though they might not choose to devour the divinity himself. Piles of fruit of various kinds are on the table for the dessert. The men,

attended upon by two female slaves, have each a lotus * in their hand, and appear exceedingly grave; but their more vivacious moieties, who are honoured with ten attendants, seem, in many instances, to have cast their lotuses on the ground, and are laughing and clapping their hands, delighted with the music or the song. The hair of the master and the other men is twisted into small ringlets, in the modern Nubian fashion; but that of the ladies is either arranged smooth, or covered by their head-dress. As the mistress of the feast is placed on her lord's left hand, the other ladies, arranged in front of her, are necessarily seated on the right of theirs. In the lower compartment, now extremely mutilated and imperfect, are the figures of cows, and other animals; and on the sides of the niche, where was formerly a sitting statue, now broken, are various figures, some kneeling, others playing upon musical instruments, before the master of the tomb and his wife.

CCCXXVII. But at length *Thoth Psychopompos* knocks at the rich man's door, to conduct his spirit to *Amenti*. His "domus et placens uxor" are resigned; the soul, according to its deeds, mi-

* Perhaps, however, what is here and elsewhere supposed to be a lotus, may be the plant *Agrostis*, at present unknown, which they were accustomed to bear in their hands to the temples. "Les Egyptiens, en mémoire de l'utilité dont l'herbe, nommé *Agrostis*, avoit été à leurs pères, en portoient dans les mains toutes les fois qu'ils alloient aux temples faire leurs prières." — *Goguet, Origine des Loix*, &c. t. i. p. 163. — This was subsequent, I imagine, to the abolition of cannibalism by Osiris. — *Diodorus*, l. i. p. 17

grates into a cat, a hog, a vulture, or an ibis, to accomplish in successive transmigrations the revolution of the Great Year; while the body, that it may be entire at its owner's return, is delivered over to the embalmers. We see the mummy swathed, bandaged, and stretched upon a couch, with various female mourners, — hired ones, perhaps, — weeping round it on their knees. The yellow chest, in which it is to be borne to its long home, being brought in, and the mummy placed in it, is laid on a lion-shaped bier; the funeral procession moves along. In a small sledge drawn by men, a seated figure, the heir, perhaps, of the deceased, precedes the mummy-chest; they arrive at the sacred river. The coffin, the mourners, the attendants, embark in boats, drawn along the shore by a cow, — the cord being fastened to her horns, — several men assisting. In a compartment adjoining, a man, with a globe on his head, is seated on an urn, and two figures, probably of priests, are pouring libations over him. Near them, towards the left, another person is delineated cutting up an animal, possibly for the funeral feast; for the old Egyptians, like the Irish, invariably made merry at a wake. Proceeding into the third tomb, we observe, in the niche, a man sitting between two women, who have been supposed to be his wives; but did the old Egyptians allow of polygamy? *

* Hugo Grotius imagines it was permitted to all but the priests: — "Apud Ægyptios soli sacerdotes unius fœmina conjugio utebantur. — *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, l. ii. c. 2. § 10. And he grounds his assertion on the authority of Herodian, l. ii., and Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. p. 51.

The scenes here represented exactly resemble those above described; excepting that in addition to the musicians, and singers, there are *almé* who perform in tight pantaloons, or without any, in a style of the utmost indecency, while ladies look on seeming to enjoy the exhibition. Manners, therefore, were nearly the same in the days of the Pharaohs as in those of Mohammed Ali: *almé* still perform at feasts in Egypt, and ladies not only regard their performance, but learn to perform in the same style. Among the musicians, who are all female, several are observed playing on the sistrum.

Saturday, Feb. 9. THEBES.

CCCCXXVIII. Having moored on the preceding evening at *Esneh*, I again visited the Temple, and spent some hours among the ruins. In the bazār were several *Copts*, who, like the Jews, whom they resemble in countenance, are a cunning, scheming, and thrifty people. Though apparently respectable individuals, they no sooner observed us enter than each selected from his personal ornaments something to sell; one a ring, another a signet, — all antiques — for which, however, they demanded con-

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(Ed. H. Stephan.) But, as Barbeyrac observes, — "Sine dubio Herodianus, apud quem nihil quod ad rem faciat, positus est heic pro Herodoto, undecumque error ortus fuit. At hic contrarium planè docet, nimirum omnes Ægyptios unâ uxore contentos fuisse, quemadmodum in more erat Græcis: Καὶ γυναικὶ μιῇ ἕκαστος αὐτέων συνοικέει, καπαπερ Ἕλληνες. l. ii. c. 92. Utri credemus? Herodoto, an Diodoro Siculo, ita inter se pugnantibus?"

siderably more than they would have sold for in Europe. Some had *scarabæi*, which they had picked up among the ruins, or purchased for a few paras from the Arabs; but they valued them very highly, perhaps as amulets. A Turk, who stood conversing with these *Copts*, brought forward an engraved ruby of great beauty; but he refused to part with it. Nothing seems to be more deeply rooted in the minds of the orientals than the idea that such gems possess certain magical powers, and the sight of a ring, a chaplet of beads, a signet, or an antique lamp or vase, immediately awakens the suspicion that it may, perhaps, be a talisman. The famous *mohur Solimani*, or Seal of Soliman Jared, the fifth monarch of the world, which invested its possessor with the command of the elements, demons, and every created thing, and the *Turquoise Vase* of *Giamshid*, discovered in sinking the foundations of *Istakhar*, are throughout the East the objects of research and speculation. But there are amulets, talismans, and spells, less rare and valuable, which find their way into the hands of the people. Both Nubians and Arabs are besotted with this superstition; in their opinion, there is not in life an evil to be dreaded or a good to be obtained, in the avoiding or gaining of which aid may not be derived from talismans, manufactured with secret ceremonies, by necromancers or magicians, from various strange substances, such as, tufts of the hair of the sea-cow; the wood of the tree *Shebarick*; shells, rings, or beads; water poured on earth, taken from a dead man's grave, or the bones

of the dead. There is the *akret*, a spherical amulet, worn by some women to prevent, by others to favour, conception. Other talismans are worn by girls round the neck to gain their lovers' affection * ; and married women have an amulet, in the form of a knot, to ensure the constancy of their husbands. This kind of superstition likewise prevailed among the ancient Greeks ; the κεστὸν ποικίλον † of Venus was merely a talisman worn round the waist to inspire love ; and irresistible, according to Homer, was its power, since it subdued the Thunderer, rendering him unmindful of his dignity on the summit of Ida. Of a Turkish soldier, who sat in a kind of waking

* See Richardson's Dissertation on the Languages, &c. of the Eastern Nations.

† The description of the *Cestus of Venus*, which occurs in the fourteenth book of the Iliad, has been translated with infinite beauty by Pope; and as this was the most celebrated amulet of the ancient world, I will here subjoin the passage: —

" ———The Queen of Love
Obey'd the sister and the wife of Jove:
And from her fragrant breast the zone unbraced,
With various skill, and high embroidery graced.
In this was every art, and every charm,
To win the wisest, and the coldest warm:
Fond love, the gentle vow, the gay desire,
The kind deceit, the still-reviving fire,
Persuasive speech, and more persuasive sighs,
Silence that spoke, and eloquence of eyes."

Tasso, as Pope observes, has finely imitated this passage in the magical girdle of Armida;

" Teneri sdegni, e placide e tranquille
Repulse, e cari vezzi, e liete paci,
Sorrisi, parrolette, e dolce stille
Di pianto, e sospir tronchi, e molli baci."

Gier. Liberat. l. xvi.

dream counting his beads in the bazār, I purchased a curious chaplet, probably from the interior of Africa; but I am ignorant whether or not it possesses any remarkable talismanic virtue.

CCCCXXIX. Whatever may be the effect of religion on the hearts of the orientals, no one can doubt its influence on their language and manners. They seldom profess their intention of performing any action, however simple, without the provisional *Inshallah!* or "please God." Shortly after leaving *Esneh*, "Can we arrive at Thebes to-night?" I demanded of the *reis*. As I might have foreseen, "*Inshallah*" was his reply. "Very well, Mohammed: nothing certainly, can be brought to pass without God's permission; but will you exert yourself, in order that nothing may be wanting on our part?" This he promised, upon which I observed to the Hajjî that this practice of the Arabs of acknowledging their entire dependence on the will of their Maker was highly praiseworthy, provided their words were accompanied by an inward conviction. His reply was that of a sensible man. "In those who were sincerely religious, the heart and tongue," he said, "were the same; but that all made use of the phrase, from a persuasion that to omit it would be impious;" in illustration of which, the Mohammedans have the following apologue: — In former ages, say they, no distinction existed between the tame and the wild goose; both living together in the wilderness, frequenting the same marshes, and the same rivers.

Once upon a time, however, two of these birds, about to undertake in company a long journey, met on the eve of their departure, to confer upon the necessary preparations. Their deliberations ended, the ancestor of the wild goose observed, as they were about to separate, — "Be on the alert, friend; for, *Insh-allah!* I shall commence my flight early in the morning." To which the other replied, — "And so will I, whether it please God or not!" The morning came, the pious bird, having quenched his thirst in the Nile, rose upon the wing, and was presently out of sight. His impious companion also prepared to follow, but though he spread his wings, making many efforts to soar aloft, he found himself unable to rise from the ground; and being shortly afterwards found by man in this condition was easily caught and reduced to servitude, in which his whole race have ever since continued. — The *reis*, according to promise, urging on the rowers by his authority and example, we arrived, about an hour before midnight, at *Thebes*.

CHAPTER II.

TOMBS OF GOURNOU — ENGLISH AT THEBES — CHARACTER OF EGYPTIAN ARCHITECTURE — GRANDEUR OF THE DIOSPOLITAN RUINS — PASSION FOR THE MARVELLOUS — PRINCIPLES OF SACRED ARCHITECTURE — GOTHIC CATHEDRALS — TEMPLES OF GREECE AND EGYPT — ANTIQUITY OF THE RUINS — CIRCUMFERENCE OF THEBES — POPULATION OF EGYPT — EXAGGERATION OF HISTORIANS — FINE ARTS OF THE EGYPTIANS AND GREEKS — FIGURES OF THE GODS — INFERIORITY OF EGYPTIAN ARTISTS — BAS RELIEFS OF KARNAK AND THE MEMNONIUM — FEARFUL CORRUPTION OF MANNERS — EXTREME BARBARISM AND CRUELTY — TOMBS OF THE KINGS — DESOLATE APPEARANCE OF THE BIBAN EL MELOOK — ILLUSTRATION OF SCRIPTURE — INVOCATION TO THE INFERNAL GODS — TOMB OF BELZONI — SYMBOLICAL SCULPTURE — SUBTERRANEAN PALACES — BANQUETING ROOMS — EXCITEMENT TO DRINKING — WORSHIP OF THE MANES — FUNERAL FEASTS — BAAL-PEOR — WORSHIP OF THE KING OF HELL — TAMMUZ — FESTIVAL OF ADONIS — DESCENT INTO THE TOMB — FUNEREAL PAINTINGS — GODDESS OF NIGHT AND DARKNESS — HERMES PSYCHOPOMPOS — PRESENTATION OF THE SOUL TO SERAPIS — ANIMATED CORPSE — ROADS TO HEAVEN AND HELL — EGYPTIAN IDEAS OF A FUTURE STATE — JUDGMENT OF THE SOUL — GODS OF THE DEAD — SERPENT BEARERS — MYSTIC GROUP — THRONE OF SERAPIS — PAINTINGS IN OUTLINE — THEOLOGICAL NOTIONS OF THE EGYPTIANS — APARTMENTS AND CORRIDORS — BRUCE'S TOMB — AGRICULTURAL SUBJECT — MILITARY WEAPONS AND STANDARDS.

Sunday, Feb. 10. *Thebes.*

CCCCXXX. In one of the tombs of *Gournou*, excavated high in the face of the mountain, I found Mr. Hay and his family, whose superior politeness and urbanity are well known to all European travellers in Egypt. Mr. Bonomi, an English artist of great talent, inhabited a neighbouring tomb, where he had lived several years. Upon my arrival, they

very obligingly invited me to take up my abode with them during whatever stay I should make at Thebes, pointing out the inconveniences of remaining in my kandjia on the river, far from the principal ruins, and the royal tombs of *Biban el Melook*. Influenced more, however, by the pleasure of their society than by the advantages of the position, I accepted their polite invitation, and removed with the Hajjî to the tombs. Our society was numerous: in addition to the two gentlemen above mentioned, and Monro, whom I found waiting for me at *Gourna*, there were Mr. *Catherwood* and M. *Dupuis*, both artists, who resided in our neighbourhood. Two other artists, Messrs. *Gouri* and *Jones*, were living at *Luxor*, where Messrs. *Welsted* and *Carlis*, officers in the Indian navy, who during nearly two years had been employed in making a survey of the Red Sea, had arrived a few days previously. Mr. Arundale, the editor of the works of Palladio, likewise joined us, from *Déndera*, in the course of the week. Thebes, therefore, during the whole of our sojourn, had rather the air of an English colony, than of an ancient and deserted metropolis. The day was spent among the ruins; the evening, with the greater part of the night, in conversation; the majority being men of talent, and enlarged experience, in whose company time passed unobserved; so that independently of the numerous monuments of ancient art, there found crowded together, Thebes presented to us many motives for prolonging our stay.

CCCCXXXI. The ruins of this great capital, the earliest seat of the Egyptian monarchy, have in all ages deservedly excited the admiration of travellers. Excepting the labyrinth and the pyramids, the greatest works of its greatest princes were erected here, where the architecture, invariably aiming at sublimity, has an air of vastness, of simplicity, of ponderous massiveness, which irresistibly strikes and elevates the imagination. This must be allowed. It may, moreover, be added, as a strong presumption in favour of its originality, that the impression left upon the mind by these monuments, is not transient, like the effect of mere singularity, but is recurred to, again and again, in after time, as a source of permanent satisfaction; a test which nothing but the creations of genius will bear; inferior productions, to whatever department of the mimetic arts they may belong, always failing in this one essential requisite. Deluded, perhaps, at first, by meretricious ornaments and a spurious manifestation of power, we admire and praise; but afterwards, when our cooler judgment has been consulted, the warmth we experienced, and perhaps exhibited, causes us shame; and the snare, in which we were entangled, being regarded with contempt, we pass hastily to the antipodes of our first decisions.

CCCCXXXII. When others, whose judgments we have esteemed and adopted, are found to stand in the above predicament, the conduct of the mind is not greatly dissimilar. Like most travellers who visit Egypt, I had read and admired the relations of the

magnificence of Thebes which enthusiastic persons had compiled, some in their closets, others on the spot. Above all things the brief but nervous sketch of Tacitus, in his account of the voyage of Germanicus, dwelt upon my memory, tending to cast over those vast fragments of an antique age, a solemn air of grandeur and perfection, greatly beyond what, if viewed without preoccupation, might perhaps belong to them. I will not deny that I arrived at Thebes with a mind under such influence; and my first impressions, as generally happens, were not unfavourable to the continuance of this feeling. Columns, obelisks, sphynxes, propylæa of gigantic proportions, colossal statues, mysterious sculpture, subterranean palaces, or halls of death, rendered doubly venerable by the marks everywhere left by the hoary hand of time, and war, and barbarism; all these, picturesquely grouped, and viewed by an eye not unwilling to admire, failed not to move powerfully, and fill the mind with images of gorgeous magnificence and costly labours.

CCCCXXXIII. But those hurried emotions subsiding, the love of truth, whose naked majesty, — more sublime than the creations of the architect, — possesses, when we follow the real bias of our nature, charms so irresistibly pleasing, soon recovered its ascendency, and left me free to exercise my judgment conscientiously. As my ultimate opinions differed materially from those of many other travellers, I considered it my duty to investigate the probable causes

of this dissimilitude; and shall here venture to state the results of my inquiry. In every pursuit which men follow continuously and with eagerness, it usually happens, that they ultimately invest it with an undue importance, discovering beauties and excellencies which others, absorbed by different studies, perceive not at all, or in a very inferior degree. Such persons, devoted exclusively to their favourite subject, omit to make those discursive flights, those healthful pauses and diversions, those numerous approximations and comparisons, without which it is impossible, even for the acutest minds, to judge sanely. The greater number of Egyptian antiquarians stand in this predicament; and many, unbiassed by peculiar studies, appear to surrender their judgments to the direction of others, by whose eloquence they are bound in fetters. Others again, whose sole pretensions are based on their acquaintance with the practice and ordinary routine of the arts, presume, without any other qualification, to decide magisterially in a question more connected with the abstract principles of all art, than with the traditional and manual processes in which the lives of such persons is ordinarily consumed. Besides, the peculiar intellectual character possessed by different men, must necessarily introduce much variety into their decisions. And thus, ruined structures, the sight of which has caused in some travellers extraordinary raptures and ecstasies, from whose influence they seem never to have escaped, may produce on others, as on me, effects far less marvellous.

CCCCXXXIV. The merit of a work of art consists in fulfilling the design with which it was undertaken. In buildings set apart for the worship of God, or,—where God is unknown,—for the worship of those elements, stars, or other created beings, which have usurped his place, the object must evidently be to awaken in the mind ideas analogous to those which, we may suppose, the visible presence of the Deity would occasion. The ancient Persians are said to have thought no temple worthy of God, but that in which he has graciously placed us, adorned with all the magnificence of nature, and lighted up, in eternal succession, by the sun, and moon, and stars. Philosophically speaking, their opinion cannot be gainsayed. But man is an imitative animal, and loves to taste, in a certain degree, the pleasures of creating; and this he seems to do, when, embodying the original archetype in his mind, he gives birth to forms which previously had no existence. If his conceptions have been purified by religion or philosophy from the dross of superstition, he will seek in erecting a temple, to copy, to the utmost of his power, the harmony, beauty, and majesty so resplendently visible in the great temple of the universe. This endeavour is strikingly observable in the Gothic cathedrals of our ancestors, where the slender aspiring columns, the "embowed roof," stretching over us like the vault of the sky, the vast painted windows, the lofty cloisters, the fretwork, the tracery of stone, the endless variety of chapels, recesses, niches, balconies, galleries, and arcades, beheld in the "dim religious light" which

pervades those sacred edifices, and filled, peradventure, with the sound of anthems, or the pealing notes of the organ, seem naturally to impel our thoughts heavenward, purifying them as they rise. By the religious edifices of Greece a train of impressions, in many respects different, was produced; for in those the object which architecture proposed to itself appears to have been the present enjoyment arising from the contemplation of beauty, severe grandeur, majestic proportion, and the most exquisite harmony of design and execution. The feeling of religion, therefore, though not wholly absent, too closely resembling the voluptuous intellectual delight which the mimetic arts, under the direction of genius, diffuse over the soul, the divine breath that swept over the minds of the worshippers, partook less of piety than of poetry. It moved, it enlivened, it vivified, but it did not elevate.

CCCCXXXV. Egypt possessed a religion peculiar to itself, which, if it afforded glimpses of the soul's immortality and of a world beyond the grave, likewise contained dogmas material, degrading, absurd, and pre-eminently gloomy: and the character of its belief is indelibly impressed upon its temples. Many of their structures, when approached between rows of sphynxes or colossal statues and obelisks, or through the lofty gateways of enormous propylæa, have, no doubt, an air of extraordinary grandeur; but it is the grandeur of a fortress, or of the palace of some mighty

barbaric king, not of the house of God. The character of everything around concentrates and fixes our ideas upon earth, or conducts them, by a rapid transition, to hell. If the Dives and Afrits of Oriental romance had erected temples to *Ahriman*, or the Evil Principle, they would doubtless have selected for their model those of Egypt, in which vast proportions, and gorgeous magnificence, are combined with every image and every contrivance calculated to quench in man the wish to be great and good, and destroy all modesty and purity in women. But there is deformity in the mere architectural proportions. If we imagine a human being who, from the huge dimensions of his limbs, must have been designed to reach the height of a hundred feet, but, from some constitutional defect, does not exceed twenty yards, we shall form a just idea of an Egyptian temple, whose elevation seldom or never corresponds with the length and breadth. An example will render this more palpable. The great temple of Karnak measured, we are told, twelve hundred feet in length. But what was its height? Exclusive of the propylon,—less lofty, perhaps, than that of *Edfoo*,—it did not exceed seventy feet, or one seventeenth of the length.—Nearly the same imperfection is observable in that of Luxor, and every other large structure in Egypt; which gives them all the appearance of buildings sunk half way into the earth by their enormous weight. The accumulation of sand and rubbish, and the constant rising of the soil, have, moreover, contributed to enhance this

original defect; an unfortunate circumstance, for which, of course, the architects are not answerable.

CCCCXXXVI. On the question respecting the antiquity of these edifices I make no pretensions whatever to decide. Those who profess to have discovered the key to the ancient sacred language attribute to them a prodigious duration; but if any real progress has been made in the science of hieroglyphics, which we may, perhaps, be permitted to doubt, it would yet seem far too limited to enable its possessors to speak positively in a matter of this kind. Judging from the style of architecture and sculpture observable in all the Egyptian temples, it is my opinion that the most ancient and the most modern were erected within the compass of a few hundred years of each other. Few, perhaps, if any, date beyond the age of Cambyses. The prophet Jeremiah, foretelling the conquest of Egypt by the Persians, says "He shall break also the images of *Beth-Shemesh* that is in the land of Egypt; and the houses of the gods of the Egyptians shall he burn with fire*." And profane historians, narrating the actions of the son of Cyrus, observe that, to evince his utter contempt for the Egyptians, he slew Apis their god†, destroyed their temples, and carried away their idols. The arguments in favour of the immense antiquity of these edifices, derived from

* Chap. xliii. v. 13. Beth-Shemesh may probably signify "the house of Chemmis:" i. e. *Beit Chemmis*. Previous to this conflagration, the Egyptians would therefore appear to have made use of timber in their religious edifices.

† Herodot. l. iii. c. 29. — Strabo, l. xvii.

the rise of the soil, appear unworthy of serious consideration. If their foundations are now greatly below the level of the ground, it is because of the continual accumulation of dust and rubbish, not from the deposits of mud left by the Nile, which does not overflow the sites of the ancient cities. The temple of *Déndera*, situated on the skirts of the desert, seems to be more deeply sunk in the earth than that of *Medinet Habou**, *Luxor*, or *Karnak;* and the same thing may be said of the fane of Apollo at *Edfoo*. Yet the cause of the greater accumulation of soil around these two buildings is not referrible to their superior antiquity, since they are confessedly of a comparatively late era; and many of the mud huts of *Mitraheni* or *Benisooëf* are still more strikingly overtopped by the rising mounds of earth and ruins. This mode of reasoning might not be so fallacious if applied to the vocal statue, or the obelisk of Heliopolis, which stand in the open plain, subject to the overflowing of the Nile. How much of the obelisk has been buried by time we could not conjecture†; for as it stood, at the time of our visit, in the midst of young corn, excavation was impracticable; but with Memnon's statues the case is different, for so much of their pedestals, and the figures sculptured on them, is visible, that we may certainly infer but a very trifling rise has taken place in the plain of Thebes since they were set up. The temple

* Excepting a small portion of the cella, or whatever we choose to call the western extremity of that edifice.

† Pococke, presuming it to be one of the obelisks of Sochis, originally seventy feet in height, calculates the rise of the soil at seven feet and a half; but he made no excavations. Vol. i. p. 23.

mentioned by Herodotus in Lower Egypt, which in his time stood on ground so much below the level of the city, that the worshippers descended to it from the streets, was, no doubt, placed in this predicament by the practice of the inhabitants, who would seem in all ages to have delighted in surrounding themselves with dust and rubbish.

CCCCXXXVII. No data for determining the form or dimensions of Thebes can be derived from the present appearances of the plain. Those who, desirous of magnifying its ancient greatness, include within its circumference the temple of *Medamoud*, might with equal reason extend the line southward to *Hermonthis*. In this question we must entirely depend on the information furnished by the ancients. Diodorus, a writer far more inclined to exaggerate than disparage what he describes, attributes to Thebes a circumference of one hundred and forty stadia. Did we exactly know what stadium was employed by the Greek writers in speaking of Egypt, there would be no difficulty: but on this point the moderns are not agreed. There appear, however, to be reasons for believing that it should be reckoned at the fifteenth part of a mile. Herodotus, in treating of Lake Mœris, asserts that it was three thousand six hundred stadia in circumference. His English translator, not considering the extraordinary absurdity thus imputed to his author, converts these stadia into four hundred and fifty English miles, or to five hundred, according to the statement of Pom-

ponius Mela; that is, makes the lake larger than the whole Arsinoëtic Nome, the province it was said to fertilise and beautify. Yet Herodotus mentions a circumstance which renders inexcusable the attributing to him so gross an error. The circumference of Lake Mœris, he says, was equal to the extent of Egypt about the coast; that is, from the bay of Plinthine to the Serbonian Bog; or about two hundred and forty miles.* From this it seems evident that the stadium made use of in treating of Egyptian affairs, did not exceed the fifteenth part of a mile. The circumference of Thebes, therefore, in its most

* 3600 ÷ 15 = 240. The erroneous opinions commonly entertained on this subject have arisen from the supposition that the Olympic stadium was the itinerary measure always employed by the Greek writers. But there were various stadia; even those appropriated to the public games differing in extent, in different places. *D'Anville, Mesures Itinéraires*, p. 46. — The stadium used by Strabo is equal to the tenth part of a mile, p. 56, 57. Such, also, is the stadium employed by Xenophon, p. 65. But the stadium of Herodotus, where he treats of the affairs of Egypt, does not exceed the fifteenth part of a mile. *Id.* p. 98—101. — *Géographie Ancienne*, t. iii. p. 9. Major Rennell, following the traces of D'Anville, estimates the stadium of Herodotus in the same manner, observing, "To us it appears evident that, in respect of Egypt, the cause arises from his having taken the schæne *one-third* above its real standard; that is, at 60 stades, instead of 40, as it really appears to be. For, in describing the dimensions of Egypt, he gives them in *schænes*, and then reduces them to stades, at the rate of 60 to a *schæne*. Euterp. VI. IX." *Geography of Herodotus*, i. 24, 25. — D'Anville sensibly remarks that — "Il y a toute apparence, que c'est du même stade qu'il faut mesurer l'enceinte de quelques villes d'antiquité, comme de Ninève, Babylone, Palibothra, et de Carthage même. Il en faut faire le même usage à l'égard du Lac Mœris; sans quoi l'étendue de ces villes, et l'espace de ce lac creusé de main d'homme, tiennent du merveilleux, et passent toute croyance." *Mes. Itinér.* p. 98. He omits, indeed, to apply the remark to Thebes and Memphis; but the extravagant exaggerations respecting the extent of these cities are equally palpable.

flourishing times, was about nine miles and one third, or nearly the same as that of Cairo. As the river, however, flowed through the city, we must on this account subtract at least two square miles from the space included within the above circuit; so that the capital of Sesostris was inferior in extent, and I make no doubt in population, also, to that of Mohammed Ali.

CCCCXXXVIII. But there is no end to the fables related of ancient Egypt. Historians and other writers, in many respects not destitute of judgment, have fallen, on this subject, into the most extraordinary errors. Diodorus, relying on the ridiculous exaggerations of the priests, does not scruple to assert that there existed eighteen thousand cities in Egypt; and some writers, Fénélon among others, make the number amount to twenty-two thousand. But let us adhere to Diodorus, and examine how those cities were furnished with inhabitants. The population of Egypt does not at present greatly exceed two millions, and never could have amounted to much above treble that number. Suppose it, however, to be taken at seven millions, and we shall have something less than three hundred and eighty-nine inhabitants for each city. But if we subtract from the general population, that which the priests attributed to their great cities, there will scarcely be a man left to people the others. These veracious personages, when questioned by Germanicus, related many wonderful things of their

ancient glory; asserting, among other particulars equally probable, that the city of Thebes once contained seven hundred thousand men fit to carry arms. Reckoning the men capable of military service at one fifth of the whole, we must suppose its population to have amounted to three millions five hundred thousand souls, — a grand style of calculation, which would do no discredit to a Chinese! * Homer, though a poet, would not venture on so extravagant an hyperbole. While vaunting its "hundred gates," — an expression which, I imagine, he never expected to be taken literally, — he does not estimate its military force at more than twenty thousand men, where Achilles, enumerating in his impassioned speech to the embassy the wealth and advantage he would reject, rather than be reconciled to Agamemnon, and wed his daughter Iphigeneia, alludes to the riches of Orchomenos, and Egyptian Thebes: —

Ὅσα Θηβάς,
Αἰγυπτίας, ὅθι πλεῖστα δόμοις ἐν κτήματα κεῖται,
Αἳ δ' ἑκατόμπυλοι εἶσι, διηκόσιοι δ' ἀν' ἑκάστην
Ἀνέρες ἐξοιχνεῦσι σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν.
Ιλιαδ. I. 381—384.†

* But the exaggerations of the Egyptian priests have been exceeded by modern critics. Lipsius estimates the population of ancient Rome at four millions; that of Cairo at seven millions; and that of Quinsai, in China, at sixteen hundred thousand families, or eleven millions two hundred thousand souls! — *Lipsii Opera*, t. iii. p. 756—760.

† In the splendid amplification of Pope, important circumstances are added, which materially alter the account of Homer, who makes no allusion to Thebes being the "empress of the world," or to her

CCCCXXXIX. But enough, perhaps, has been said on these subjects. The sculptures which are found on the palaces and temples require a passing remark. From these, it has been conjectured, the Greeks borrowed their first ideas of art; and Hamilton, in a moment of enthusiasm, even went so far as to suppose that, in his terrible pictures of battles and death, Homer himself may have derived assistance from the contemplation of the bas-reliefs of Thebes! As combats, however, were not of rare occurrence in the days of the poet, it seems more rational to conclude that his fancy was furnished with images by the prospect of the actual field. But these idle speculations are foreign to the subject. In many points of view, I admire the ancient Egyptians. They were an ingenious, industrious people, who diligently applied themselves to several studies useful to man. But, if we except architecture, their genius appears to have been little fitted for the attainment of excellence in the imitative arts. In poetry they appear to have effected nothing beyond the melancholy dirge, called

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spreading "her conquests o'er a thousand states." Let the reader compare the translation with the original: —

> "Not all proud Thebes' unrivall'd walls contain,
> The world's great empress on the Egyptian plain,
> That spreads her conquests o'er a thousand states,
> And pours her heroes through a hundred gates,
> Two hundred horsemen, and two hundred cars,
> From each wide portal issuing to the wars."
>
> *Iliad.* ix. v. 500. et seq.

It should, moreover, be observed, that Pope doubles the number of the Theban warriors.

Maneros, and a few songs composed in later times. Music they cultivated, but not in a degree to obtain celebrity. Of their progress in painting and sculpture, which come more within the scope of the present work, we, in some degree, still possess the means of judging.

CCCCXL. Much confusion will be avoided by keeping clear of the jargon affected by connoisseurs. What we comprehend we can explain, in plain English. To this let us therefore adhere. Several reflections, suggested by an examination of the sculptures and paintings of Thebes, confirmed me in the opinion I had already formed from the other monuments of Egypt,—that the Egyptians never proceeded beyond what may be termed the first step in the arts. The Greeks, when they embodied in bronze or marble their conceptions of the numerous inhabitants of Olympus, appropriated to each divinity a set of features expressive of his character. And this type became to a certain extent traditional. Whenever an artist undertook to reproduce the figure of Jove, Mercury, Venus, or Diana, he was careful, therefore, to preserve the style of beauty which distinguished the deity he represented; but beyond this, he was bound to follow no model. The endless variety of nature being before him, he might aim in his work at clothing with a permanent form, ideas rivalling, or even surpassing, in majesty and beauty, the dignity of man and the softness and fairness of woman.

CCCCXLI. The Egyptian artists, we are told, were cramped in their labours by legislative enactments *; but they seem to have been far more effectually cramped by incapacity: for, if we may venture to speak the homely truth, it is evident that, in these branches of the arts, they possessed neither taste nor genius. They were utterly incapable of expressing the character by the countenance. If the artist undertook to represent a goddess, he delineated, not a woman, but that stiff, awkward resemblance of one which his ancestors had invented; and this figure, until the mitre was placed on the head, might serve for Bouto, or Boubasta, or Athor, or Isis. There was not a shadow of difference. Nay, he might go still farther, and, by adding a beard, convert Isis into Osiris, or *vice versâ;* for they had but one face for all the gods and goddesses, men and women, if we except that rude abortion of a divinity, whom we call Typhon. The attempts to represent portions of inanimate nature are still more imperfect. In the bas-reliefs of the great temple of Karnak, we observe forest trees fashioned like broom-handles, with leaves, broad as the trunk itself, stuck here and there upon the sides of it. Here, likewise, is a king advancing to the attack of a fortress, the walls of which are not up to his knee; or driving before him numerous diminutive figures of enemies, not a jot more like

* Plato, who had remarked the little progress made by the artists of Egypt, thus explains it. He then adds: — *σκοπῶν δ' εὑρήσεις αὐτόθι τὰ μυριοστὸν ἐτὸς γεγραμμένα ἢ τετυπωμένα, οὐχ ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν μυριοστὸν ἀλλ' ὄντως τῶν νῦν δεδημιουργεμένων οὔ, τε τι καλλίονα οὔτ' αἰσχίω τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ τέχνην ἀπειργασμένα.* — *De Legib.* lib. ii. p. 239, 240. vol. ii. pt. 3. ed. Im. Bekk.

men and women than the Chinese masterpieces on cups and saucers. On the walls of the Memnonium is a river-fight, in which the water runs up hill like a racehorse; while dead bodies are floating through the stream, with their elbows touching both banks, like a drunken man in a kennel, if we may employ so homely a comparison. The diameter of the king's chariot-wheels is at least twice the width of the river; and so enormous is his own bulk, in comparison with the puny race he is destroying, that, like Gulliver at Lilliput, he might easily put the one half of his enemies in his pocket. In the pages of some travellers, however, the Memnonian sculptures assume quite another aspect: their imagination and rhetorical artifices converting these rude creations of mediocrity into performances of singular merit, after the romantic manner of Ktesias, who, in Northern India, saw ants larger than foxes.* But to show how little attention such persons pay to the things themselves, and how completely their eyes are under the guidance of fancy, it may be stated as an undoubted

* Herodotus also speaks of these ants: *ἐν δὴ ὧν τῇ ἐρημίῃ ταύτῃ καὶ τῇ Ψάμμῳ γίνονται μύρμηκες, μεγάθεα ἔχοντες κυνῶν μὲν ἐλάσσονα, ἀλωπέκεων δὲ μέζονα.* l. iii. c. 102. — *Dio Chrysostom. Orat. XXXV.* p. 436. — But, as Wesseling observes, — "Omnes videntur, ut vere Arrianus, *ἀκοὴν ἀφηγέεσθαι*, nec ipsas vidisse." — *Not. in Herodot.* p. 249. Busbequius, however, describing the presents of the Shah of Persia to Sultan Solyman, enumerates among other curious things, "formicam Indicam, mediocris canis magnitudine, mordacem admodum et sævam." —*Epist.* iv. p. 343. And Palmerius defends, with considerable warmth, the credit of the old historians:—"Hoc non esse figmentum Herodoti, ut multi *blaterant*," says he, "sed veram narrationem, evincit hujus sæculi experientia." — *Exercitat. in Auct. Græc.* p. 16.

fact, that one of these travellers mistakes a white bull for a black one; while another converts a number of asses into camels, which he describes as being laden with the household stuff of people escaping from a besieged town!

CCCCXLII. Notwithstanding the above remarks, I consider those sculptures as highly interesting monuments of antiquity; for, though they incontestably prove the low state of the arts in Egypt, they instruct us in many curious particulars: but the ethical picture they exhibit is not flattering. Corruption of manners, and barbarism falling little shor of what travellers have found among the savage nations of America, prevailed in Egypt. Images of the most revolting indecency cover the walls of temples, palaces, and tombs; indeed, every religious structure, to judge by its ornaments, would appear to have been sacred to Venus, Pan, or Priapus. We do not, it is true, find on these monuments representations of the unspeakable abominations described by Pindar and Herodotus, — a circumstance which is probably owing to the disgust or indignation of Cambyses; but enough, and more than enough, remains to prove how grossly depraved and brutishly sensual a people the ancient Egyptians were. History corroborates the testimony of the monuments; for we learn from Herodotus, that the dead bodies of women could not be delivered to the embalmers until corruption had commenced; and Livy, in describing the introduction of the mysterious worship of Isis into

Italy, draws a fearful picture of the portentous enormities which the Egyptians laboured to cover with the cloak of religion. Their barbarity was equal to their licentiousness. The Turks cut off, after a victory, the ears or noses of the slain, to ascertain their number, or as a proof of their own prowess; Timour raised on the plains of Asia a pyramidal trophy of skulls; but both Turks and Tartars are acknowledged barbarians: while the Egyptians are celebrated for their wisdom and civilisation, some small portion of which they are supposed to have communicated to the Greeks. Yet, from the bas-reliefs on the temple of *Medinet Habou*, we discover that it was their practice to mutilate the bodies of their fallen enemies in the most brutal manner; cutting off their hands, and (what we find practised by no other savages) their αἰδοῖα. And this, too, not in the earlier times of the monarchy, but after the invention of writing; for, in the same picture, is a secretary taking an account of these mangled members, heaped up on the field of battle in bloody piles before the king. The treatment reserved for those who fell alive into their hands was still more atrocious; for, among the sculptures on the same temple, three wretched captives are bound to the pole under the king's chariot; while they are elsewhere tortured by having their arms bent back over the shoulders, so as to dislocate the joints. Numbers also are stabbed to death, or have their throats cut, before the popular idols.

CCCCXLIII. These views may, perhaps, be found to differ from those vulgarly entertained of the ancient Egyptians; but they are supported by existing monuments and the relations of historians of undoubted credit. I shall now pass on to the description of the principal antiquities; aiming, as far as possible, at brevity, and omitting the mention of such objects as have elsewhere occurred. The first things we visited were the TOMBS OF THE KINGS. Setting out at an early hour, we proceeded on asses across the plain towards the Libyan mountains; where the sun's heat, already very powerful, seriously incommoded several of my companions; more particularly when, having crossed the cultivated plain, we touched upon the desert, and entered those winding, rocky defiles leading to the *Biban el Melook*. The transition was most striking. The eye, which, but a few minutes before, had reposed on verdant plains, palm woods, and the cool blue waters of the Nile, now encountered the most desolate and savage scenery,—blasted rocks, huge perpendicular cliffs, deep and dismal ravines, the seat of eternal silence and barrenness, the very "Valley of the Shadow of Death." In certain conditions of mind, however, such places are not unproductive of delight. Nature, elsewhere robed, and concealed from sight by a thousand magical appearances, seems there to stand before us, naked, in all her majesty. Our ideas wander beyond their usual sphere; for the mind, seeming to have pushed its researches into forbidden regions, up to the very threshold of eternity, feels as if about to

solve the mystery of death and life. Conscious of a firm hold upon existence, our spirits buoyant with robust health, we enter, as if assured of immortality, the portals of the grave, saying secretly to ourselves, "Death has, indeed, been at work here; but over us he has no power!" Every thing around is calm and motionless. No animals bound along the earth, no trees wave in the wind, no streams, no rivulets flow, reminding us, by their progression, of the flux of time. The stainless purity of the atmosphere defends us even from the passing shadow of a cloud. All is stationary, fixed, immutable, as if prepared for eternal duration; sunshine and tranquillity brood over the landscape; and we participate in the calm of nature.

CCCCXLIV. The Theban kings, in selecting wild solitary places, wherein to build their tombs, acted conformably to the general practice of the East, alluded to by Job. "Why," he exclaims, "died I not from the womb? For now should I have lain still and been quiet; I should have slept: then had I been at rest, with kings and counsellors of the earth, which built desolate places for themselves."* Following the numerous windings of the valley, we arrived at the point where it divides itself into several narrow ravines, which, on the right, terminate abruptly in a rocky wall of vast height, forming the base of a stupendous mountain; and on the left, in a series of inconsiderable gullys. And this, we were

* Chap. III. v. 11—14.

told, was the spot chosen by the Egyptian monarchs for their eternal abode. Proceeding a few steps farther, the entrances to the tombs appeared, resembling, at a distance, the shafts of so many mines.

> " Dî, quibus imperium est animarum, umbraque silentes:
> Et Chaos, et Phlegethon, loca nocte silentia latè,
> Sit mihi fas audita loqui : sit numine vestro
> Pandere res altâ terrâ et caligine mersas."

CCCCXLV. The first tomb we entered was that opened by the enterprising and unfortunate Belzoni, which is the most remarkable of the whole. To the description of this, therefore, I shall chiefly confine myself; as in the distribution of the apartments, as well as in the columns, paintings, and hieroglyphics, they all, in a great measure, resemble each other. Several untoward circumstances combine, however, to render imperfect our pictures of these extraordinary hypogea. The mythology of Egypt, whose most secret mysteries, those relating to the fate of the sou after its separation from the body, are supposed to be here delineated, is hitherto scarcely at all understood, even by the learned; and, on this account, it is exceedingly difficult, in a series of complicated scenes, to pursue the thread of events, and observe by what nice transitions the sculptor passed, so to say, from one part of his narration to another. Perhaps, also,

* Which Dryden has thus rendered : —

> " Ye realms, yet unreveal'd to human sight,
> Ye gods, who rule the regions of the night!
> Ye gliding ghosts! permit me to relate
> The mystic wonders of your silent state."
>
> *Æneid*, book vi.

where the graver failed, the aid of hieroglyphics was called in, to express the less palpable and obvious ideas; for we see them in long perpendicular bands upon the walls, separating the various divisions of the sculptured tale, into books or chapters, as it were; but all these characters, which once spoke to the eye, are now dumb. Even were our knowledge competent, however — which it is not — to follow the sculptor and the scribe through the mazes of this vast mythological labyrinth, the destructive ravages of M. Champollion, and other antiquarians — who, by breaking down doorways, and sawing off the faces of pillars, covered with bas-reliefs and hieroglyphics, have removed the connecting links of events, and rendered them, to a certain extent, unintelligible for ever — would effectually arrest our progress, and throw us, in many cases, out of the true scent.

CCCCXLVI. But to proceed with what remains. When we entered from the burning, leafless desert, into these gorgeous subterranean palaces, the effect was indescribably grand. Without, the bare inhospitable waste, scorched by an almost vertical sun, seemed scarcely to afford a shelter or a hiding-place to the fox and the jackal; within, we found ourselves descending magnificent flights of steps, or wandering through long corridors, vast galleries, lofty halls, and spacious banqueting-rooms, hewn in the solid rock, and extending five or six hundred feet into the bowels of the mountain; the walls, ceilings, and pillars, covered with symbolical representations,

resembling an endless picture-gallery. No idea, formed from reading, of the character and manners of the ancient Egyptians, can possibly prepare the traveller for what he finds here. With what object were these gay and costly palaces constructed? For the reception of a corpse: to be closed, like other receptacles of the dead, until doomsday; when their royal inmates, roused by the last trump, should come shivering forth from their stately halls, to stand before a far more terrible tribunal than that which preceded their burial? This seems wholly improbable. In my opinion they were made for the use of the living, not of the dead. From the ancients we learn that the Egyptians, resembling the *Ghouls* in taste, were enlivened and excited to debauchery by the sight of a mock-corpse, which, at grand banquets, was brought round and shown to every guest. Many ancient nations reckoned the *Manes* of their ancestors among the *Dii minorum gentium;* and at stated seasons, probably on the anniversaries of their death, assembled together, and invoked them with feasts and sacrifices. This practice is alluded to in the Book of Psalms. "They joined themselves also unto Baal-peor," says the prophet, "and ate the sacrifices of the dead."* And the Hindoos, among whom a religion similar to that of Egypt still flourishes, annually devote fifteen days to the worship of the manes of their ancestors: during which period, the princes of Méwar, proceeding to the royal cemetery, perform at the tombs of each of their

* Psalm cvi. 28.

forefathers the rites enjoined; consisting of ablutions, prayers, and the hanging of garlands of flowers, and funereal leaves, on their monuments.*

CCCCXLVII. From the words of the prophet, who mentions *Baal-peor*† in connection with these funereal banquets, we may, to a certain extent, conjecture the nature of the rites; for this was the deity adored by the Moabites and Ammonites, whose women enticed the Israelites to licentiousness in their passage through the wilderness; and this worship consisted in the adoration of the Phallus, the image of which was borne about in their sacred processions. According to Selden, *Baal-peor* was the king of Hell, to whom funeral sacrifices were offered up; and his orgies, celebrated during the night, consisted of obscene and licentious rites, in which the passions, inflamed by wine, and all those sights and sounds that contribute to produce the intoxication of voluptuousness, were permitted to reign with unbridled sway. The women of Judah, in the days of the prophet Ezekiel, had relapsed into this idolatry, and wept for *Tammuz*; and Milton, deeply versed in the practices of the ancient world, distinctly alludes

* Colonel Tod, Annals of Rajast'han, vol. i. p. 582.

† "Neque alium sane fuisse antiquissimum illum Moabitarum Deum, Baal-Peor, seu Beelphegor, ac Romanorum Priapum, ab eruditorum plerisque existimatur." — *Antiquitates Middletonianæ*, p. 67. — St. Jerome, likewise, gives his testimony in favour of this opinion. "Istiusmodi idololatria erat in Israel, colentibus maxime fœminis Beelphegor, idolum tentiginis, quem nos Priapum possumus appellare."—*Hieron. in Hoseam*, c. vi.; ib. in c. ix. *Opera*, t. iii. p. 1261.

to the nature of the rites performed in honour of *Adon* by his female worshippers, —

> " Whose wanton passions in the sacred porch,
> Ezekiel saw, when, by the Vision led,
> His eye survey'd the dark idolatries
> Of alienated Judah."

This festival of Adonis, whom learned men, with some appearance of probability, identify with Osiris, the lord of Amenti, may serve to instruct us respecting the forms which the worship of the Manes, connected, no doubt, with that of the monarch of the dead, assumed in Egypt. It was divided into two parts; the former devoted, at Byblus*, to mourning and lamentation, the latter to joy. At Alexandria this order was reversed. During the melancholy portion of the festival, all the funeral ceremonies established in honour of the dead were performed, and the women abandoned themselves to the most violent transports of grief. In Syria they cut off their hair in the temple, or, according to some authors, sacrificed their chastity to the god. Different ceremonies took place in Egypt, where they appeared with dishevelled tresses, in loose mourning garments without a girdle, with all the external marks of the severest woe. Hymns of grief were sung, accompanied by the flute. The image of the god, placed upon a funeral couch, or scaffold, was surrounded by every circumstance of pomp and magnificence.† Numbers of emblematic representations

* In Syria, where a temple was erected to Adonis. — *Strabo*, l. xvi.

† Creuzer, Rel. de l'Antiq. t. ii. p. 23—57

were placed around the bed, and among others, those famous *gardens of Adonis*, consisting of vases of clay, or baskets of silver *, in which, by a concentration of heat, various seeds had been artificially caused to germinate, and spring forth in short-lived verdure. The effeminate and luxurious sorrow exhibited during this festival, naturally terminated in licentious excesses, an overstrained sensibility being the mother of both; and the Orientals intimate their knowledge of this fact, by employing the *Almé* to weep at funerals.

CCCCXLVIII. But, whether dedicated to mourning, or to pleasure and festivity, few, I believe, ever paced these silent halls without experiencing some degree of melancholy. Who and what were they that covered those walls with the figures of the strange things they worshipped? For whose instruction were those mysterious symbols traced? what persons were permitted to enter there, to learn the secrets of life and death? What kings and counsellors were they, who built those desolate places for themselves? All these questions might perhaps be answered, could we interpret the characters which now mock us upon the walls. And, in this case, should we despise or admire? As it is, the mind is profoundly irritated by uncertainty. Naturally leaning to the more favourable interpretation, we persuade ourselves that the monstrous combinations before us

* Παρ' δ' ἁπαλοὶ κᾶποι, πεφυλαγμένοι ἐν ταλαρίσκοις
'Αργυρέοις. THEOC. *Idyll.* XV. 113.

were not the creations of a crazed brain, but symbols possessing a dignified recondite meaning, to which the old colleges of priests could once have furnished a key. And we contemplate them with an earnest curiosity, arising probably from the persuasion, that, by a careful scrutiny, we might yet lift the veil, which for more than two thousand years has concealed their signification from the world.

CCCCXLIX. Reverting to the actual appearance of the tomb; — a flight of thirty steps descends to the entrance, where the doorway, wide and lofty, is altogether void of sculpture. On entering the corridor, leading with a steep slope to the sepulchral chambers below, we observe the wall on the right hand covered with hieroglyphics, descending perpendicularly, in narrow bands, from the ceiling to the floor; and, on the opposite wall, the figure of a mortal, standing with his face towards the interior, apparently demanding admittance of Osiris Hierax, whose head is surmounted by the globe and serpent, emblematic of the world, and the wisdom with which he governs it. Near this mortal, both above and below, is the delta, the emblem of life, and the passive principle of generation. A tablet next occurs, with the figure of Ammon, standing beside a black colossal scarabæus, within the disk of a large globe: above which is the head of a gazelle, with a curious ornament erect between the arms; and below, the figure of a crocodile, appearing, from its attitude, about to plunge into the water. The head of the

gazelle is again seen beneath the crocodile. Along the centre of the ceiling extends a series of vultures with outspread wings, mitred, like the gods, each holding in his claws a sceptre or rich plume mounted on a handle. The symbol of eternal life, the delta, and the goose, with a globe upon its back, accompany each vulture; and the whole is painted in sombre funereal colours, chiefly blue and black, with a small proportion of yellow, and dark red intermingled.

CCCCL. At the termination of this corridor we arrive at a second doorway, over which is the usual ornament of the winged globe. Another flight of steps succeeds; and here the walls are charged with a different kind of paintings, figures of mummies, black, white, and red, standing upright, with their faces towards the interior, as if marching forwards, in solemn procession, to the regions of the dead. The walls beneath their feet are covered with hieroglyphics, recording, perhaps, the history of their crimes or virtues. This flight of steps conducts us to a third doorway, over which is a seated figure of Bouto, the goddess of night and darkness, with a pair of outspread wings beneath her extended arms. The colours and ornaments are characteristic; the base of the wings being dark blue, the remainder green. Upon her arms are bracelets and armlets sparkling with gems. Her bosom is concealed by a rich tippet, her tresses by a black head-dress, and, instead of a mitre, she wears a funereal round-topped plume, bound upon the head with a red fillet.

Beneath, immediately over the entrance, are the figures of two other goddesses, seated opposite each other on a kind of stool, holding the point of the mystic symbol of the gods in their hands; and, on either side of the doorway, is a female kneeling, who seems to be rolling before her a circle or hoop. The mitre of the one on the left is a kind of chair resting against a pillar; that of the other consists of two pillars, one of which is surmounted by the mystic basin. Over their heads is the couching figure of a wolf or jackal, with a rich collar, and a riband or fillet hanging loosely over his neck, and the mystic vau, or sceptre of Osiris, by his side.

CCCCLI. Advancing into the next corridor, we find the walls covered with the figures of boats, serpent-formed, with a head, like the *amphisbæna*, at either end, and the tongue or sting darted forth. The strange combinations of figures now become eminently unintelligible. That curious emblem*, the horse's head with the human eye, is seen in a boat, having eight figures, — perhaps the *Dii Cabiri*, or eight principal gods of Egypt, — and drawn along with a cord by four men. A group next occurs representing the union of the worship of the serpent with that of the phallus and kteis; for, while the *Urœus* rears its body, as if in wonder and adoration, before these united symbols, a man is seen to approach the serpent itself with offerings. Behind the votary is the three-

* This symbol has been thought, by the Comte de Caylus, to resemble the head of a cock. — *Antiquités*, &c. t. iii. p. 39. pl. viii. No. 4.

headed serpent, with wings, and two pair of human legs. Is this a form of Kneph or Agathodæmon? Many figures of gods and goddesses succeed; but, with the exception of Bouto, I know neither their names nor offices.

CCCCLII. In the compartment below, we find a representation of one of the most remarkable fables in the Egyptian mythology; *Thoth Psychopompos* conducting the soul to Hades. The spirit, which still wears, in those nether regions, the form of a mummy, is presented by Thoth to Serapis, the king of hell. The horse's head with the human eye is between them. Immediately after this group there follows a male figure with black hair and lofty mitre, who seems to lead in a headless trunk, — a corpse endued with locomotive power, — with two things, like the fillets of Athor or Venus, springing forth from the section of the windpipe. May not this represent a man executed on earth, and condemned by the priests to pass an eternity in Hades, gifted with consciousness and volition, but deprived of his head, and tormented everlastingly by thoughts which he cannot utter? To these succeed several other figures, souls who have happily passed their examination, following a deity with a club into the presence of a god, by whom they are presented with the emblem of eternal life. In their train are another troop of blessed spirits, bearing this mysterious symbol in their hands. All these are on the road to Elysium. On the opposite wall is the descent into hell; gods, boats,

serpents, unhappy souls, hurrying towards that place whither "hope never comes."

CCCCLIII. But, perhaps, if we here trace a rapid sketch of the notions which the Egyptians had formed of a future state, their sepulchral paintings may seem more intelligible. If, as Diodorus asserts, they regarded life as a passage, and their earthly dwellings as inns, it is equally certain that no Epicurean or Hedonic philosopher could have sought more eagerly to strew that passage with flowers, or to crowd their inns with more images and instruments of pleasure. In what consisted the happiness reserved for the pious in the next world, antiquity has furnished us with no means of discovering. Whatever it may have been, the soul was not permitted to taste of it until it had undergone two examinations, — the one on earth, before mortal judges; the second in the vestibule of the spiritual world, before Osiris-Serapis, the supreme judge and sovereign of the dead. The doctrine of transmigration is mingled up with these fables, and the form it assumed in the hands of the Egyptians shows how gross, adulatory, and unjust their priestly teachers were. The migration of the spirit of man into the bodies of inferior animals, could only be regarded as a punishment. But this punishment might long be averted by the rich and powerful, while the souls of the poor, in whose fate the priests were but little interested, after enjoying a short respite from the toils and evils of mortal existence, were again im-

mured in material forms, and condemned to work their way through the bodies of bats and owls to the mansions of the blessed in the sun or the dog-star. This is not a satirical view of the matter. The soul subsisted in a separate state, emancipated from the degrading progress of the metempsychosis, so long as the body could be preserved from dissolution; but the inferior mode of embalming, calculated to resist but for a short time the invasion of corruption, could alone be practised by the poor, the expensive drugs and perfumes, and bandages and sarcophagoi, by which the corpses of their superiors were defended from the action of the air, being entirely beyond their reach: their bodies, therefore, soon returned to dust, thus exposing their souls to the penal migrations above described. These ideas may have had some connection also with the worship of animals. The children of a rapacious landlord may have thought they recognised in the vulture or the crocodile the well-known disposition of their deceased parent, condemned at once to commence his transmigrations, and have connected the adoration of this brute with that of the Manes. Those spirits which were most happy dwelt near the body, in the cities of the dead, where, wandering invisible through their vast and silent mansions, lighted, perhaps, by the brightness of their own eyes, they watched with intense interest over the decay of their ancient earthly companions, into which, on the festivals of the Manes, they may have been permitted to enter, that by the aid of material organs they might snuff up the savours

exhaling from the delicious viands devoured in their honour by their descendants. The number of years to be thus passed by the spirit is not known with certainty; some imagining they were excluded from final beatitude in the celestial mansions during a whole revolution of the great cycle of three thousand years, after which, having undergone a *palingenesia*, or second birth, they ascended to the stellar spheres, from which they originally came. But Pindar*, who is supposed to have been an adept in these mystic doctrines, reduces the period to nine years.

CCCCLIV. Traces of the above doctrine are found in the sculptures on the walls of this tomb. Spirits which come up for judgment in the human shape, depart transformed into birds or hogs, the latter shipped in a small bark, under the direction of *Hanuman*, the monkey-god, to be conveyed back to the scene of this world. We now arrive at the bottom of the descent, and enter into the first chamber, where the same series of mysterious paintings is continued. Beginning with the wall left of the doorway, we discover the figure of a black wolf, couchant, with collar and fillet as above described, and the sceptre of Osiris, the king of Hades, by his side. As Anubis is represented with the head of this animal, it has been conjectured that the wolf may be a form of Anubis, placed here on the confines of

* Olymp. ii. 109. — Virgil, who also had studied the ancient mythologies, represents the departed spirits as returning, after the revolution of a thousand years, through the river of oblivion, to their *palingenesia*. Æneid. vi. 713, 714.

light and darkness, as in the mysteries of Isis, to intimate that all within belonged to darkness, and concealed the secrets of the grave. To this figure, whatever be its symbolic signification, succeeds Osiris, who, having received the soul of the king from Thoth, is leading it into his palace by the hand, and presenting it to Isis, as Queen of *Amenti*. The goddess, dressed up to the waist in white, bears the usual symbols in her hand; and her mitre, consisting of the cow's horns, which are black, and enclose between them a red globe, is bound on by a fillet of the same colour, that, passing round the head, contrasts strikingly with her black hair. The delta, — the emblem of her sex, — is before her. We next find the royal personage making an offering to Athor, whose mitre consists of a feather and a hawk; after which he stands before Osiris. To "the grisly king" succeeds a goddess with a very peculiar headdress, who, though one of the ladies of this illustrious court, has had her name blotted out by oblivion. We must here suppose the curtain to drop, — the second act being over, — and when it rises again, we are once more introduced into the presence of Serapis, whom we find on the right hand side of the apartment, seated on his throne, with Anubis and Aroëris behind him. A repetition of the same group occurs near the door, where a god with the pschent and lituus mitre presents the king to Athor, who graciously takes him by the hand. The goddess is naked to the waist; and her green petticoat, — the only garment she wears, — is supported by shoulder-

straps of the same colour. Were these goddesses regarded by the Egyptians as so many celestial *Houries*, invested with unfading youth and beauty, and intended, like those of the Mohammedan paradise, to constitute the principal happiness of the blessed? Many groups represented in these tombs are favourable to such an idea. The ceiling of this chamber is blue, bedropped with silver stars.

CCCCLV. The second apartment, into which we now pass, is adorned by four massive square columns, the faces of which, like the walls, are covered with symbolical paintings. These we shall afterwards describe. At present the subject seems to require that we follow the series on the left wall. The figures, in this chamber, are arranged in three tiers, one above another, continued round the room. In the first, or uppermost tier, we observe several rows of men walking in procession, in the rear of others who are bearing along a serpent of prodigious length. These ophiuphoroi are stationed at some distance from each other, and between every two men the serpent, graciously desirous of abridging his unwieldy length, coils up his body into voluminous folds. In the second tier is Ammon, who, according to the masquerading humour of these ancient divinities, has veiled his celestial countenance in the form of a ram, embarked in a boat, which is drawn along by four men; while a vast serpent, springing up from the stern, and descending on the bows, forms a waving arch, like a rainbow, over his head. In front of this

deity, who, like Baal in the Scriptures, seems to be going on a journey, are a number of ophiuphoroi, in white garments, bearing in procession another of these prodigious reptiles, which appear to act a prominent part in all the phantasmagoria of death. The third tier contains one of the most extraordinary groups that occurs any where, perhaps, in the paintings of Egypt.

CCCCLVI. What the signification of this strange group may be, it is difficult to determine; the arbitrary interpretations which have hitherto been given, being all equally unsatisfactory. It consists of the god Aroëris, or the Sun, who is driving before him men of various countries, differing widely from each other in dress, complexion, and physiognomy, each party being composed of four individuals, who precede each other singly in a line. Immediately in front of the god, as most favoured by his beams, are four Egyptians, dressed in white kirtles, with that peculiar red complexion which they delighted to attribute to themselves, and their black bushy hair dressed in long twisted ringlets, like those of the modern *Berbers*. If this is really to be taken for their own hair, and not for a wig, we must conclude that the practice of shaving the head, mentioned by Herodotus, was but partially adopted. These, for the sake of contrast, are preceded by four white men, in variegated petticoats, with black beards, and long dark hair bound up in a fillet. Before them are four negroes, arrayed in superb dresses, with their hair,

like that of the Egyptians, arranged in the modern Nubian fashion. In front of the negroes, is a second group of four white men, whose countenance, costume, and ornaments are most extraordinary; nothing resembling them being found on any other Egyptian monument. Their long black hair, falling in profusion over their necks, is adorned on either side of the head with feathers, which, at first sight, gives them the air of North American savages; but when we regard their rich loose robes, inwrought with flowers and other figures in bright colours, it becomes evident they were intended to represent some civilised people. A figure, not unlike that of a straight sword, is tattooed upon their naked arms. Like the Nubians and Arabs of the present day, they have a thin short beard, sticking forward from the point of the chin, and one lock of hair falling in front of the ear. Their nose is of the Jewish or Persian form, and the rest of their features, though striking, are not handsome. Perhaps the whole were intended to represent the various races of men, known to the Egyptians, whom Aroëris visited in his daily round. At a short distance before them are a number of the Nilotic tribe, engaged in their old mysterious occupation, working at a serpent, which appears to be spotted with stars.

CCCCLVII. Of the king we have now lost sight for some time, but on proceeding to the extremity of the apartment, we again find his majesty, who appears to have been some time in hell; for his beard,

at the outset close shaven, has now attained a considerable length. In fact, we must suppose his period of probation expired. For he appears as one of the gods, with the crosier in one hand, and the flagellum in the other; the latter being designed, according to Plutarch, for stimulating the Moon; in other words, for inflicting chastisement on the goddess Diana, perhaps for her obstinate chastity, which the other celestial ladies may have regarded as a reproach upon themselves. However this may be, we find him standing with Aroëris in the presence of Osiris-Serapis, who sits

> "High on a throne of royal state, which far
> Outshone the wealth of Ormus and of Ind,
> Or where the gorgeous East, with richest hand,
> Showers on her kings barbaric pearl and gold."

On the sides of this throne the most conspicuous ornament is the kteis-phallus,—the moderns would have placed in its stead two thigh-bones, and a skull,—to intimate, perhaps, that the power which sat thereon, like the *Siva* of the Hindoos, though he peopled Hades with souls, possessed an uncontrollable influence over those eternal energies of nature by which the stream of life and intellectual and physical enjoyment is kept for ever flowing. Behind the throne stands Athor, the "queen of heaven," with starry robes. The monarch himself is dressed in a white kirtle, with a rich girdle and sash. On the same wall, an erect mummy, with a cord round its neck, is drawn along by several male devils, who seem to be bringing it up for judgment. And on the

right, other mummies, condemned, perhaps, to slumber out the great year, are decently reclined, like *Vishnu*, on serpent-formed couches; unless, as the serpent was the symbol of eternity, this may be taken as a hint of the esoteric doctrine taught by the priests, whose creed was pantheism. — In the immediate neighbourhood, a group of living serpents bear upon their necks and backs a number of human heads. On the several faces of the columns, the king is successively received and embraced by all the principal deities of the Egyptian pantheon, — Athor, Neith, Isis, Osiris, Phthah, Ammon, Thoth, Anubis, Horus, and a goddess crowned with a scarabæus, bearing the kteis in each claw.

CCCCLVIII. We now proceed to a spacious apartment on the right, adorned with two massive square pillars. Here the figures on the walls are merely in outline, death, apparently, having arrested the king in the midst of his labours; and his successors not caring to snatch a moment from the embellishment of their own tombs in compliment to his ghost. It has been remarked, — and the idea is not without foundation, — that in these pencil sketches more freedom, energy, and grace are observable than in the finished paintings. It appears, in fact, that, in all works of this kind, the design was executed by one set of men, the details and filling up by another; and that, in many cases, the latter were inferior to the former, and contrived to spoil their outlines. Isis is here delineated with some ability: indeed, her long

sleepy eye, smiling pouting lips, and countenance full of love, exhibit the nearest approach to feminine softness and beauty ever made, perhaps, by an Egyptian artist. But the body and limbs are ill formed, as usual. Whatever may have been the vulgar notions propagated by the priests concerning this goddess, she would in reality appear to be nothing more than a deification of womanhood, in strict conformity to the original nature of the Egyptian religion, which arose out of fetichism, and never very widely departed from its principles.

CCCCLIX. It would be endless to describe minutely every group and figure on the walls of this tomb; and, in the present state of our knowledge, such a description would be of no great utility; but, were the exact import and character of each understood, a volume — and it would require a large one — might be well devoted to the proper delineation and explanation of these extraordinary pictures. The gods of Egypt are all assembled here. The most important truths of which they had caught any obscure glimpses, and mingled with fables, — a future state — the judgment of the dead — rewards — punishments — transmigration — absorption — all seem to be alluded to and shadowed forth in symbols, comprehended only by the initiated. To us, now that the key is lost, much that we see appears to be the representations of a fantastic dream. Figures of men with globes, instead of heads, upon their shoulders; women with serpents on their brows; headless trunks, with

snakes or scarabæi creeping forth from the bleeding neck ; and, in the midst of these and similar unintelligible things, we discover the figure of Harpocrates, with his finger pointing to his lips, enjoining eternal silence on the mysterious subject, — an injunction which has been but too well obeyed.

CCCCLX. Returning into the great chamber, and descending a flight of eighteen steps, we follow a continuation of the corridor, on the walls of which the wars and other actions of the deceased monarch appear to be portrayed. In the midst of soldiers, we find a man and woman, clad in leopards' skins, overlooking a third person, engaged in cutting up an ox or calf in the royal presence. Another flight of steps conducts to a lower chamber, covered, like the rest, with sculptures, which we shall not attempt to describe. Passing onward from hall to hall, some adorned with columns, others not, we everywhere observe the same mystic representations. One group, on the roof of a lofty arched apartment, is eminently curious. The figures appear to be white, on a black ground; but are found, on examination, to be of a pale yellow. A white bull, with a hawk perched on his horns, is approached by numerous gods in procession, all bearing globes upon their heads ; among which is the female hippopotamus, with a woman's breasts, standing upright, with a crocodile climbing up her back, and looking over her head. Other crocodiles are near, together with a lion surrounded with stars. On either end of the apartment is a winged female

figure. To the left of this, is a spacious and beautiful hall, adorned with two columns, and a raised stone bench, like a rich sideboard, extending round the whole. This bench is hollowed out below into a series of recesses, in each of which is an elegant couch. Having attained the lowest chamber, we found that a rude staircase conducted still farther into the rock, and descending through an opening in the wall, proceeded downwards over steps covered with rubbish, two hundred feet, perhaps, below the level of the tomb. On reaching the bottom, however, our progress was stopped by rocks, though a narrow aperture existed, through which the bats passed in and out. Other apartments may hereafter be discovered, both here, and at the commencement of the steps above.

CCCCLXI. The other royal tombs, the entrances to many of which yet remain to be discovered, possess each a peculiar interest; but to describe them separately would be tedious. In one of the small chambers of the one commonly called "Bruce's tomb," because it contains the figures of the two harpers, the copying of which exposed him to so much unjust and absurd reprehension, there occurs an agricultural subject of much interest, representing the ploughman ploughing, and the sower sowing a field. The plough —but this I state from memory— is drawn by two cows or oxen, and a young calf is sporting before them among the furrows. At a short distance in the rear is the sower, who holds the grain in a basket, and scatters it as he goes. From this picture we discover

that women, in Egypt, were employed in the labours of agriculture; for a woman is here observed approaching the husbandman with a full basket of grain, while, at a little distance, another is employed in filling a similar basket from a large heap. On the other walls of the apartment are stacks of corn in a field, and the Nile, flowing between green fertile islands, and bearing a galley under sail. In another chamber, close to the above, a collection of military ensigns and weapons are represented upon the walls; —swords, spears, daggers, arrows, bows, quivers, helmets, shirts of mail, and chariot-poles. The standards consist of the hawk, the bull, the heads of Isis and Athor, and other similar objects, mounted on long handles, like the staff of a spear.

CHAPTER III.

VALUE OF EGYPTIAN SCULPTURE — ANCIENT ARTS AND CIVILISATION — GREATNESS OF MODERN NATIONS — VOCAL STATUE OF MEMNON — MYTHOLOGICAL LEGEND — IMPROBABLE EXPLANATIONS OF THE FABLE — DESCRIPTION OF THE STATUE — INSCRIPTIONS ON THE LEGS — THE MEMNONIUM — BATTLE-SCENE ON THE PROPYLON — COLOSSAL STATUE OF OSYMANDYAS — ANOTHER BATTLE-SCENE — DEFECTS OF THE SCULPTURE — ALL THESE WARLIKE REPRESENTATIONS MYTHOLOGICAL — PAPREMIS, RAMESES, RAMA — OTHER COLOSSAL STATUES — LIBRARY OF MEMNON — RUINS AT MEDINET HABOU — MOST ANCIENT TEMPLE IN EGYPT — THE PROPYLÆA — BATTLE-PIECES — SAVAGE TREATMENT OF CAPTIVES — PRIVATE TOMBS OF GOURNOU INHABITED BY THE ARABS — SEPULCHRAL PAINTINGS — TOMBS OF THE QUEENS — PROFUSION OF MUMMIES — CHARACTER OF THE ARABS — UNDER-RATED BY THE FRANKS — CHARITY-SCHOOL AT GOURNOU — LEARNING AND SUPERSTITION OF THE MUSULMANS — FRANK PHYSICIANS — ANECDOTE — SCORPIONS — SCORPION AND SPIDER — FIGHT BETWEEN A YOUNG CROCODILE AND THE GREAT LIZARD OF THE DESERT — MODE OF SHOOTING THE CROCODILE — WILD DOGS OF THEBES — BARBAROUS TREATMENT OF DEAD BODIES.

CCCCLXII. It may seem extraordinary, since, as works of art, the pictures and sculptures on the Egyptian monuments must be ranked in a very inferior class, that we nevertheless devote so much care and labour to the description of them. But our views aim at utility. By carefully investigating these wrecks of ancient civilisation, we may possibly arrive at the knowledge of many circumstances capable of throwing some light on the early history of our race, and the opinions, moral and religious, by which their

actions and their happiness were influenced. It is only when thus considered that such researches possess any value. Ignorance and imbecility alone travel to wonder and admire. The barbarians of those remote ages, arrived at the enjoyment of leisure, were impelled by natural instincts to imitate, and by superstition to erect such structures as a rude taste led them to suppose would be pleasing to their gods. In the multitude of their attempts they hit upon some useful inventions; and vanity led them to claim whatever was invented by others. Even from the savage nations of the present day some useful hints may be borrowed; and, therefore, though we regard the ancient Egyptians as barbarians, coarse in manners, ignorant of political science, slavish, fanatical, priest-ridden, it is still possible that some advantage may be derived from the study of their architectural and plastic monuments. It is certain, however, that modern nations, were they disposed to employ their wealth in the same way, could effect works infinitely superior both in grandeur and vastness to any thing ever accomplished by the Egyptians; our arts and mechanical contrivances being as superior to theirs as London is to Thebes. But with us wealth is in the hands of many, employed in promoting the comforts and conveniences of private life, or in public works of great and general utility. Our roads and bridges; our moles, and piers, and breakwaters, and canals; our magnificent streets, and cities of palaces; our magazines, and arsenals, and navies, — all things necessary to the safety and well-being of a great em-

pire, — compared with the most successful efforts of Egyptian civilisation are as Ossa to a wart. Even in architecture, the branch of art in which they most excelled, our ancestors, destitute of the resources we now possess, greatly surpassed them. Excepting the pyramids of Ghizeh, things perfectly unique, even in Egypt, they have no structures comparable to our Gothic cathedrals, or to St. Paul's church, whose vast and beautiful dome seems a mountain, when put, by the imagination, in juxta-position with their largest propylæa.

CCCCLXIII. But to return to Thebes. When I had concluded my visits to the sepulchres of the kings, the VOCAL STATUE OF MEMNON * next commanded my attention. But who or what was this Memnon, a mortal or a god? The arbitrary attempts of mythologists to confound him with Osiris, originating in the vain desire to trace back to one the various gods of paganism, are eminently unsatisfactory. Let us relate the fable: — Memnon, son of Tithonus and Aurora, was a king of Ethiopia, who having, during the Trojan war, advanced at the head of an army through Egypt, and marched as far as Susa, Priam, his uncle, entreated his aid for Troy. The hero consented; and after the death of Hector was regarded as the champion of the Phrygian host,

* On the signification of the name of Memnon, see *Plato in Cratylo, edit. Bekk.* t. ii. pt. ii. p. 28. — *Strabo*, l. xvii. p. 813.—*Ap. Creuzer, Rel. de l'Ant.* t. i. p. 482. — *Jabloński de Memnone*, pp. 29. 97. — *Salverte, Sciences Occultes*, t. ii. pp. 353. 365.

until he also fell beneath the spear of Achilles. The traditions are not agreed respecting the place of his burial. According to some he was interred on the banks of the Æsépus, a river of Mysia which falls into the Propontis; others place his tomb in Cyprus; others in Syria; while a more poetical tradition relates that his mother, the Goddess of the Dawn, repairing herself, after his death, to the plains of Troy, bore away his beloved remains, and interred them at Susa, "the city of Lilies," where she caused a magnificent monument to be erected to his memory. Being of celestial birth, Jupiter, at the request of Aurora, consented to distinguish his funeral from that of other mortals. When the body had been deposited on the pile, and the fire kindled, there immediately issued from the flames a number of birds of prey, which, having flown thrice round the pyre, divided themselves into two bands, and engaged in so sanguinary a combat that above half their number remained dead upon the field. The survivors then departed; but every year, on the anniversary of the death of Memnon, repairing from Cyzicus to Ilion, they renewed their combat over the tomb. These birds, by the ancients called Menonides, were of a black colour, and, though by nature carnivorous, abstained from the taste of flesh. After his death Memnon was worshipped as a god. His statue at the foot of the Libyan mountains, on the plain of Thebes, was erected with its face towards the east, that it might be gilded by the earliest light of the dawn. When surrounded by darkness its notes

appeared to be the melancholy expression of pain * ; but in the morning, when smitten by the first rays of the sun, it uttered a melodious, though plaintive, sound, like the breaking of the string of a harp, indicating his sorrow at being deprived of his mother's presence by the approach of Apollo. The colossal statues of *Kaiumers* and his consort, situated among vast precipices on the road between *Bamiyan* and *Balkh*, have also their faces turned towards the east, so that when the sun rises they seem to smile, but look gloomy in the evening.†

CCCCLXIV. The explanations hitherto given of this fable are forced and trifling. And how shall we account for the fact, that the statue formerly, on the rising of the sun, emitted a vocal sound, but is now silent? Strabo states most distinctly that he heard it, but insinuates his suspicion that it was caused by the artifice of some of the bystanders. Learned and ingenious writers have laboured to establish a connection between light and sound ‡, and to explain

* Among the remarkable things beheld by Germanicus in Egypt, Tacitus enumerates the " Memnonis saxea effigies, ubi radiis solis icta est, vocalem sonum reddens." — *Annalium*, l. ii. c. 61.

† *Asiatic Researches*, vi. 465. — These statues, which were recently seen by Captain Burnes, in his journey to Bokhara, far exceed in size the colossi of the Egyptians; the larger being about 120, and the smaller about 80, feet in height. They are painted, like those found in the valley of the Nile, and seem to have been executed with ability.

‡ *Plutarch, Symposiacs*, viii. 3. —The explanations of the moderns are still more awkward and wanting in ingenuity than those of the ancients; but since we are not compelled, under pain of death, to interpret this Theban riddle, no evil can arise from honestly confessing that its solu-

physically what the ancient pagans regarded, not as an effect resulting from any general law of nature, but as a miracle. To this philosophical solution there is the serious objection that, although the statue stands where it always stood, and is still in the same condition as when visited by the Greek geographer, the rays of the sun smite upon it in vain. Whatever connection there may be between light and sound, Memnon is now mute. It would appear, therefore, that we must, after all, recur to the imposture of the priests, who delighted in deception of all kinds,

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tion is beyond our reach. Dussault, the French translator of Juvenal, endeavours to account for the miracle by supposing that "la statue étant creuse la chaleur du soleil échauffait l'air qu'elle contenait; et cette air, en sortant par quelque issue, produisait un bruit que les prêtres interprétaient à leur gré," t. ii. p. 452. Salverte, who quotes this opinion, very properly describes it as "peu soutenable." He also disapproves of the fancy of the French artists, who supposed they heard a similar noise in the temple of Karnak, produced by the change of temperature consequent on the appearance of the dawn! *Description de l'Egypte*, &c. t. i. p. 234.—He then mentions an English traveller who pretends to have heard the Memnon; but says the sound proceeds from the pedestal, not the statue, and is caused by the effect of the air on stones peculiarly arranged. *Magas. Encyclop.* ix. 592.—After rejecting these several hypotheses, Salverte adopts the explanation of Langlès:—"Les sons, dit Langlès, pouvaient être produits par une suite de marteaux disposés le long d'un clavier, et frappant le granit même, ou des pierres sonores de la nature de celles qui, depuis les siècles les plus reculés, servent à la Chine d'instrumens de musique. Etait-il si difficile d'adapter à ses marteaux une clepsydre, ou tout autre instrument proper à mesurer le temps, et monté de manière à les mettre en mouvement au lever du soleil?"—*Sciences Occultes*, t. ii. pp. 353—372, —*Langlès, Dissert. sur Memnon, Voyages de Norden*, t. ii. pp. 235, 236. —A similar hypothesis has recently been put forward as a new discovery; the only improvement being, that, instead of a clepsydra, a priest, hammer in hand, takes his station in the breast of Memnon, ready to strike at the proper moment.

upon which, in fact, their empire over the multitude depended. A slight blow will sometimes elicit from large blocks of stone a reverberation like that attributed to this statue. In crossing the court of the great temple of *Kalabshi* at night, my heel struck against the corner of one of the huge blocks that lie scattered about, and produced a sharp and startling note, not unlike what is caused by the breaking of a harp string, though much louder. The accident immediately brought to mind the statue of Memnon; and I again repeatedly sought to produce the same effect, but without success, not being able to discover the part of the stone which it was necessary to strike. Had noon, instead of sunrise, been the moment selected for the accomplishment of the miracle, a circumstance that occurred at Déndera would have induced me to refer it to physical causes, and absolve the priests; for, about mid-day, while engaged in examining the sculpture on the southern extremity of the Temple of Venus, the sun at the time shining very brightly, I heard in the wall a loud sound, proceeding from east to west, resembling, I imagine, the music of the vocal statue, and undoubtedly the effect of heat.

CCCCLXV. But I have already entered too fully, perhaps, into these ancient traditions, though it is they alone that confer upon the statue whatever interest it possesses; since neither its execution, nor colossal dimensions, would otherwise challenge from the traveller any very particular attention. In proceeding

southward from the Memnonium towards Medinet Habou, along the skirts of the cultivated land, we discover, at a short distance on the plain, the statue of Memnon and its companion. The fields, at the time of our visit, were covered with green corn in the ear; and numerous Arabs, scattered at intervals over the plain, were clamouring and shouting to frighten away the birds. Several of these persons, neglecting their duty, followed us towards the statues, whose colossal proportions, dusky hue, and attitude of repose, invested them, as we drew near, with a certain air of grandeur, augmented, rather than diminished, by the appearance of decay and extreme antiquity which they present. It has been found by repeated admeasurement that the vocal statue — the larger of the two — is about fifty-two, or, according to others fifty-six, feet in height: they both sit with their faces towards the river, and their backs to the mountain; and were, perhaps, as has been conjectured, the first of a long avenue of colossi, leading to a temple, the foundations of which have been uncovered directly behind them; immense blocks of stone, supposed to have formed the bases of other statues, being found on the intervening space. The Memnon, as Strabo observes, has been broken off at the waist; the parts below being of one block: but the remainder of the body, like that of Jupiter Olympius at Agrigentum, is composed of several pieces, built up like a wall, badly joined, and rudely sculptured; and the features have been wholly obliterated by time. Upon the legs, thighs, and body are

numerous inscriptions in Latin and Greek, certifying that their authors had heard the voice of Memnon; among which we sought in vain for the name of Strabo. That of Plutarch we seem to have discovered, though the characters are scarcely legible, and the initial almost wholly obliterated.

CCCCLXVI. Many of these inscriptions, which have already been several times copied and published, are now nearly defaced; and the legs of the statue have been themselves shattered, and parts of the feet broken away by violence. The throne on which Memnon reposes is adorned with hieroglyphics, and rests upon a pedestal consisting of several vast blocks of stone; and on either side and between the legs of the statue are the remains of small figures in alto relievo, more or less defaced, sculptured from the same block, and placed there, as at *Aboosambal*, for the sake of contrast. Being female figures, they have been supposed, by persons desirous of explaining every thing, to represent the daughters of the king. On the pedestal are numerous symbolical figures, among which are the sacred vulture and the uræus, seated on the mystic vase, and apparently engaged in the adoration of the Kteis-phallus. Near this group is the hieroglyphic symbol of loving, with a hawk, and a man dressed in a full short garment, like a petticoat; and on either side of the throne, in both statues, are two figures,—which, from their beards and long female breasts, may perhaps be intended for hermaphrodites,—engaged in binding a number of

lotuses to what would seem to be the pillar of a round table, ending below in the shape of a human heart. The figures thus engaged, possessing altogether the Nubian countenance, have hair twisted in long small ringlets, while their only garment is the thong apron, — more than once described, — which is still worn by unmarried females in that country. The figure on the left of the table is crowned with three common lotuses similar to those which he holds in his hand: on the opposite side the calyx of the flower is differently formed; and these two kinds of lotus are supposed to be the symbols of Upper and Lower Egypt.

CCCCLXVII. The large ruined structure, dignified by modern travellers with the name of *Memnonium*, though, according to antiquarians, it should rather be styled the *Palace of Rameses*, next engaged our attention. Its propylon, which has nearly a southern aspect, is completely in ruins on the side towards the river. Climbing among the fragments of rock, apparently overthrown by an earthquake, and looking across the plain, in the direction of the vocal statue, we beheld a beautiful expanse of verdure, with a number of Arabs scaring the birds from the corn-fields, with slings and stones, on the spot where the streets and palaces of Thebes had once stood! The northern face of the propylon is covered with sculpture, representing battle-scenes, in which we discover the hero in his chariot, the bent bow, the flying dart, the wildly pawing horses,

contention, confusion, flight, dismay, death; and though the outlines of this stirring picture have been half obliterated, enough remains to show that the whole, though rude, was originally executed with much vigour and fire. This seems, in reality, to be the Tomb of Osymandyas, — in the shade of whose fallen statue I wrote this account, — though the form of the ruins by no means agrees exactly with the description which Diodorus Siculus has given of it; but if, as Hamilton conjectures, this antiquarian never visited the Thebaid, but compiled his account from the memoirs of other travellers, such discrepancies ought not to surprise us; since many individuals, who certainly were at Thebes, have fallen into greater errors.

CCCCLXVIII. From the propylon we proceed across the dromos, towards the great entrance to the second court, on the left of which are the fragments of the colossal statue of Memnon Osymandyas, lying near the pedestal, rent and shattered by its fall, and wantonly mutilated by barbarian violence. This may, perhaps, be considered the master-piece of Egyptian sculpture. It is of oriental granite, and, notwithstanding its vast dimensions *, was conceived and executed with unusual vigour and delicacy; at least, if we may judge of the whole from the parts still remaining. The

* It was originally seventy-five feet in height, and about twenty-three feet broad across the shoulders the whole statue hewn out of one piece of granite.

wall left of the doorway has been thrown down; and the one on the right has lost its coating on the southern face, though it still retains, on the northern, its sculpture, and, in part, its colouring. Here again the king is engaged in his wars. The scene is probably laid in Egypt or Nubia, on the banks of the Nile; according to Burckhardt in the *Batn el Hajjar*, the rocky district extending to Sukkot from the second Cataract; but there seem to be no data for determining the point with so much precision. The river is painted blue, and intersects the field of battle in its whole length. Here the monarch, as on the face of the propylon, is represented with his bow bent, his arrow drawn up to the head, his horses at their full speed, whirling along his light car over fallen and dying men: his full quivers are suspended at his chariot-side, crossed as at *Aboosambal;* and the horses, whose necks are superbly curved, seem to paw the air in their speed. Immediately around the king the field is strewed with the wounded, the dying, the dead,—the trophies of his prowess. He appears rather to be the god of battle than a mortal hero. Fear and Flight, Consternation and Death, the companions and forerunners of Conquest, advance, and scour the field before him. Chariots, horses, and men, wedged together, fly like a cloud over the field, and plunge headlong into the Nile, to escape the tremendous arrows of the victor. Here they perish, and you see their bodies, which nearly choke up the stream, floating down along the banks. Part, however, escape, and fly far from the combat. On the nearer

bank of the river a long line of chariots is seen, hurrying at full speed along the plain; but whether engaged in flight or pursuit seems impossible to determine. Near a round tower, situated on an island in the river, several individuals are aiding others in landing. In the midst of the scene is a representation of a man on horseback, probably the only example of the kind any where occurring on the monuments of Egypt. On another part of the wall the conqueror is receiving his captives, who approach him dejectedly.

CCCCLXIX. The absurdities of this piece, as I have elsewhere remarked, are more conspicuous, perhaps, than its merits. Human bodies are represented which have barely room to float lengthwise down the Nile, and which, if thrown across, would form a bridge over it. But it is unnecessary to dwell on these imperfections. From an attentive comparison of the various battle-scenes sculptured on the temples and palaces of Egypt, a suspicion arises that they were never designed to represent real wars; but are merely so many mythological pictures, commemorating the imaginary achievements of Papremis, the Egyptian Mars. No fact in history seems to be better established than this, that the Egyptians were always an unwarlike people. The grand military expeditions and conquests of Osiris, Memnon, Sesostris, and other heroes, may be regarded as mere fables, the offspring of a puerile vanity, which, in a people like the Egyptians, would nevertheless be motive sufficient

for celebrating them on the walls of their great edifices, sacred and profane. Taming crocodiles, and cutting the throats of defenceless strangers, driven by accident or misfortune on their coasts, were actions more congenial to their temper than undertaking the subjugation of warlike nations. But almost every people who attempted, in remote ages, the conquest of Egypt, succeeded in the undertaking. The Arabs, or Shepherd Kings, the Nubians, the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Mohammedans, had only to march into the country, bountiful as nature has been in rendering it difficult of access.

CCCCLXX. Rameses, Papremis, Ramses, Rama, appear to be the same mythological personage. The "Land of Rameses," mentioned in Scripture, was in Lower Egypt, where, according to Herodotus, the military caste, the servants of Papremis, or Rameses, or Rama, (for Papremis is, perhaps, nothing but Rama, with the masculine prefix and a Greek termination,) principally resided. M. Acerbi, Austrian consul at Alexandria, has made, on this subject, an acute remark. It is very extraordinary, he observes, that all the battle-scenes, represented on the temples of Egypt, should so exactly resemble each other, whoever may be the conqueror whose actions are commemorated, and in whatever country the scene is laid. He also adds, what, in my estimation, has less weight, that the *hieroglyphical names* of the captives appear, in many cases, to be precisely the same. It has been

ingeniously suggested*, that as, in the tombs, the king, who united the religious, civil, and military power in his own person, is delineated as the high priest, or supreme minister of religion, so, on the temples and palaces, he is represented as a judge and a general, the avenger of private and public wrongs; which, in a great measure, coincides with my own views. It was not lawful, according to some authorities, to introduce the figure of Mars within the temples; but, since war and slaughter were unscrupulously delineated there, this idea seems to be without foundation.

CCCCLXXI. To proceed, however, with the ruins. The sculptured wall, above described, formed one side of a spacious and magnificent court, surrounded by a peristyle, as mentioned by Diodorus. A row of eight square columns, of large dimensions, with colossal statues attached to them in front, adorn the nearer and further extremities of the court; while on either side is a double row of round columns, with a low base and a capital formed like the budding lotus. All these pillars are covered with the usual sculptures. Few traces of the side walls remain. In the area of this court, lying on the sand, are fragments of colossal statues of blue granite, one of which consists of a female head, the nose only of which has been defaced. The face is long, oval, and, though colossal, conveys the idea of a small delicate woman,

* By Mr. Harris of Alexandria, who has bestowed much labour on the investigation of Egyptian antiquities.

from the harmony of the proportions. The chin has been slightly injured: but the expression of the mouth, which remains quite entire, is soft and smiling, like that of youth in a placid dream; and this appearance is increased by the character of the eye, long and sleepy, with half-closed lids. Viewed directly in front, the face appears handsome; but the profile is spoiled by the too great thickness of the lips, bespeaking in the model the prevalence of African blood. On the left is the torso of another statue. All these fragments are very finely polished.

CCCCLXXII. In front of the cella are two rows of columns; the external row square, with colossal statues attached to them, as already mentioned; the others round, with a capital formed of the budding lotus. Among the sculptures on the façade of the cella are Isis and Thoth, inscribing hieroglyphics on the fruit of a tree of unknown species, perhaps the *Persea* of the ancients; certainly not the doum palm, as conjectured by Dr. Richardson. Three doorways, with as many flights of steps, lead into the grand hall, or hypostyle, along the centre of which runs a double row of lofty columns, with bell-formed capitals, as at Karnak. The ornaments of this capital consist of lotuses, of which some reach the top, and others half way, alternately; the latter surmounted by a group of hieroglyphics. On either side of this avenue of massive pillars are numerous ranges of columns, smaller in dimensions, and inferior

in height; their capitals, agreeably to Egyptian ideas of beauty, being also in a totally different style. The sculptures on the shafts were never finished. Light was admitted into the apartment by windows in the roof, as in the great Hall of Columns at Karnak. From the hypostyle, a highly ornamented doorway leads into what has been termed the "Library*," over the entrance to which, according to Diodorus, this sentence, no doubt in hieroglyphics, was inscribed, — "Physic for the soul." — Near this fine ruin are seen a number of parallel brick arches, evidently of a quite modern date, which have been ludicrously supposed to have formed the dwellings of the inferior *Troglodytæ*, whose princes may have resided in the royal tombs of the *Biban el Melook!*

CCCCLXXIII. Next after the *Memnonium*, I visited the ruins of *Medinet Habou;* which, with the exception of some few unimportant additions, unworthy the slightest attention, should, I think, be regarded as the most ancient architectural remains in Egypt. They have all the rude grandeur of an edifice erected in barbarous times. The style of ornament, the massive proportions of the columns, the gigantic statues, and the intaglios, cut deep in the

* "Qui primus regum illustrem habuit (quod memoria servet) is fuit Osymanduas, Ægypti, qui, inter alia operum præclara, sacram bibliothecam struxit, et in ejus fronte præscripsit, ψυχῆς ἰατρεῖον: animi medica officina. Ita Diodorus, et quamquam ille inter veteres regum fuerit, non tamen dubito exemplum, si non ipsam rem, mansisse, et in Ægypto bibliothecas semper aliquas exinde exstitisse: idque in templis præcipuè, et sacerdotum curâ." — *Justi Lipsi de Bibliothecis Syntagma. Opera*, t. iii. p. 1123.

face of the wall, and representing with awkward vigour the circumstances of savage warfare, all combine in these antique ruins to awaken the idea of a rock-temple, rather than of a pile of masonry. Had this building been suffered to retain its original form, it might probably have exhibited something like symmetry; but the ages succeeding its erection, preferring the piecing out of an ancient structure to the raising of a new one, added in one part a propylon, in another a suite of chambers, in a third a court, until, by their heterogeneous increments, they had succeeded in utterly confounding the primitive design. Nor is this all. For, while spoiling some portions by their improvements, they appear, with characteristic inconsistency, to have ruined others; as we find in the more modern walls stones on which are the remains of sculpture and hieroglyphics reversed.

CCCCLXXIV. In front of the temple, which faces nearly south, is a vast square enclosure, surrounded by a massive wall, containing three entrances. The propylon is masked by a screen of masonry, through which you enter into a narrow court by a broad gateway, adorned with bas reliefs and hieroglyphics, and with a lofty pillar on either side. The shafts of the columns are plain, and have an unfinished appearance; but the capitals, the foliage of which consists of the doum and lotus leaf intermingled, have been gorgeously painted. Here, as in many other religious edifices already described, the ancient gateway, of small dimensions, has been

built up in a large propylon of more modern date. Among the sculptures on the gateway, the most prominent figure is that of Mendes Orthophallus, or Priapus; and wherever this figure—supposed by contemporary antiquarians to be that of Ammon Generator—occurs, it is represented with but one arm, which is lifted up, with the hand placed in the angle of the mystic van. Behind him, upon a small altar, are two cones, like cypress trees, and a lotus springing up between them. On the cornice of the doorway is the winged globe, splendidly painted, and flanked with serpents, one of which is stone-colour, the other black. The same ornament is repeated on the ceiling; and numerous worshippers presenting offerings to Aroëris adorn the sides of the entrance.

CCCCLXXV. We next pass into a court of moderate dimensions, which seems to have been surrounded on three sides by a colonnade. Attached to this court, on the left, is a small ruin, probably a kind of porter's lodge. On the low wall, extending round the colonnade like a screen, is the usual representation of a human sacrifice. The pillars consist of eight small shafts, clustered together, like Gothic columns. To this court succeeds a second propylon, smaller than the first, but ornamented in the customary style with the figures of gods and mortals. The sculptures on the frieze of the doorway consist of vultures and sphynxes. We now enter a more spacious court, likewise adorned with a peristyle, at the northern extremity of which are the remains of

what appears to have been the original edifice, having in front a portico with square columns. Within this is another gateway, with a small polygonal column on either side, painted in colours now blackened by time. Next succeeds a long passage, the walls of which are covered with figures of Priapus, fruit, flowers, and bulls or oxen bound ready for sacrifice. Beyond this small chapel are several dark chambers, which, from the offensive odour prevailing in them, must be the dens of wolves or jackals.

CCCCLXXVI. This range of buildings here terminating, we approach an immense structure, to which all the smaller edifices above described may be considered merely as an avenue. In dimensions the propylon may perhaps equal that of Apollinopolis Magna; but it is inferior in execution, and more encumbered with rubbish. The sculptures are in a peculiar style. Being cut extremely deep in the face of the wall, hieroglyphics and all, they break too sensibly the continuity of the surface, giving it the appearance of a rock honey-combed by the action of a saline atmosphere through a long succession of ages. This experiment in the manner of sculpturing the peculiar kind of bas reliefs which the Egyptians affected, does not seem to have succeeded, as we nowhere else find an example of it. Advancing into the temple, we enter a spacious court, adorned on either hand with a colonnade of rude, irregular grandeur, where the same barbarous attempt at producing effect by incongruous variety, upon which we have

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already more than once animadverted, is again visible, columns, square and round, with and without capitals, being huddled together in the most striking confusion. The round columns are surmounted by bell-formed capitals, ornamented with the full blown and the budding lotus, and surmounted by sculptured plinths.

CCCCLXXVII. We then pass under another propylon into a second grand court, surrounded by a colonnade. The pillars on either side are round, but, at the nearer and farther extremities, square, with colossal statues attached to them; and immediately in front of the cella a second row of round columns extends behind the square ones. Representations of wars, victories, and triumphs, cover the walls. And among these occur,—what may, perhaps, be regarded as a proof of the antiquity of the edifice, since no later structure exhibits marks of barbarism so revolting, — illustrations of the original ferocity and savage character of the Egyptians. On the lateral wall, to the left of the entrance, we find the victor in his chariot, flushed with conquest, and surrounded by all the pomp and circumstance of glorious war; circumstances which, in magnanimous natures, incline the heart to behold the humiliation and sufferings of the vanquished with pity. But this feeling was foreign to the breast of this self-sufficient barbarian. The fortune of war having thrown a number of miserable wretches into his hands, he knows no other means of exhibiting his valour, and heightening

his own enjoyment, than that well known contrivance of savages, who seem to be sensible of the sweet exemption from pain only while they behold the writhings and agonies of their captured foes. Three captives, bound together, are fastened to the pole beneath the body of the chariot, with their heads projecting behind over the dust; while two attendants follow with fans, mounted on long handles, which, in India, are still numbered among the insignia of royalty. His troops march in long files below, driving before them, like herds of cattle, groups of prisoners, with pinioned arms, tied together, and secured from flight by ropes, the ends of which the victors hold in their hands. On the western wall, the monarch is seated in his chariot, with his back towards the horses, in the midst of a wide plain. His courtiers and fan-bearers stand beside him: the troops, still under arms, occupy the surrounding space; and immediately in front of the king are three heaps of human hands, and a fourth consisting of the αἰδοῖα, but whether procured by the mutilation of the living or the dead, there is no means of determining. Beside each heap stands a scribe, engaged in noting down their numbers on a tablet. The exterior walls are likewise covered with battle-scenes; but it is unnecessary, since they afford no new insight into the Egyptian character, to fatigue the reader or ourselves with the description of them. The cella is too much encumbered with rubbish to admit of examination; and all around the temple are the numerous huts of a deserted Arab village, which, if

excavations were undertaken, might easily be cleared away, and the whole that remains of the ruins laid open to view.

CCCCLXXVIII. No useful purpose could be answered by entering into details respecting the minor ruins in the western division of Thebes; most or all of the lesser temples being of a modern date, and, both in plan and ornaments, mere copies of other sacred edifices. But the private tombs of *Gournou* are eminently curious, being excavated in prodigious numbers in the steep, and, in some places, perpendicular, face of the mountains: their entrances, beheld from afar on the plain, running in straight lines, and rising one above another in tiers, resemble the terraces of a great city erected on a hill; and, indeed, though originally designed, perhaps, for the reception of corpses, they have now changed their inmates, and are tenanted by the Arabs and their cattle, being far more comfortable dwellings than these poor people possess the means of constructing. In fact, they form commodious abodes. And the apartments being spacious and lofty, and raised considerably above the plain below, over which they command an extensive prospect, they may moreover be regarded as the most salubrious residences in the Thebaid. Use very soon removes the objections which might arise from the neighbourhood of coffins and dead bodies; indeed, no person seems to shun the company of death in these countries. Three embalmed corpses shared my bed-room during my stay at

Gournou, their coffins serving as a dressing-table; and skulls, thigh-bones, broken legs and arms, mummies of serpents, cats, ibises, strew the ground in the neighbouring tombs, which, when uninhabited, are filled with an odour resembling that of a charnel-house.

CCCCLXXIX. In many of the tombs the walls are covered with paintings, interesting, because they afford an insight into the private manners, and domestic arts and comforts, of the Egyptians, but inferior in merit to the works of a sign-painter. The artists of Thebes, when these rude pictures were executed, were utterly ignorant of perspective. In representing a garden, the walls are laid flat on both sides; and while on one hand the trees are seen in their natural position, on the other their branches are downward, and their roots in the air. The gardens are perfectly square, and, like the Pasha's kiosk at Shoubra, have a square pond in the centre, with a boat upon it. You enter through a lofty propylon, constructed and adorned precisely in the style of those placed before their temples; so that it may be conjectured their civil and sacred architecture were distinguished by the same characteristics. Representations of rural scenes, such as harvesting and the vintage; of mechanical occupations, as brick-making, hewing wood; the slaughtering of animals, feasting, and various kinds of amusements, such as are seen at Eilithyias and the Speos Artemidos, cover the walls; but instead of being described, they should be faith-

fully copied and engraved; plates, in matters of this kind, instructing much more rapidly than words.

CCCCLXXX. In a rocky sequestered valley, among the mountains of *Medinet Habou*, are found, what have been denominated, I know not wherefore, the "Tombs of the Queens." For this appellation there seems to be no other foundation than the idea that, as the Egyptian ladies enjoyed, during life, a kind of lawful empire over their husbands, the latter may not have chosen to subject themselves, after death, to their despotism, which might have disturbed the tranquillity and embittered the enjoyments of *Amenti*. But this is a lame reason for supposing that the Theban queens were thus interred apart, in a sort of eternal exile. These tombs, in all probability, were private, like those of *Gournou*, but belonging to some more opulent families, whose means enabled them to imitate, in some measure, the sepulchral extravagance of their kings. The apartments are fewer, smaller, and far less sumptuously ornamented than those in the *Biban el Melook*. Many of them contain deep mummy pits, and a lower suite of chambers. Some were filled, when we visited them, with a profusion of mummies in every stage of decay, so that it was in some places impossible to advance a step without crushing a skull, or treading on the breast-bone of a queen. It was not without considerable reluctance that I thus profaned the relics of the dead; but once entered, it was necessary to make our way out, and the bodies

lay every where in our path. From among the heaps of mummies we picked up a thigh-bone about three feet in length; but to what animal it belonged my ignorance of anatomy disabled me from deciding.

CCCCLXXXI. In all these excursions we were accompanied by a number of Arab lads, to whom our asses belonged, and who, besides their business of donkey driving, traded a little in antiquities. Belzoni, and other travellers, complain greatly of the roguishness of the people of *Gournou*. Their experience may have warranted the charges they make, but I cannot corroborate their testimony. It is no doubt true that they endeavour, in their dealings with Europeans, to obtain the most they can for their goods; but is there any dishonesty in that? Belzoni himself, without perceiving it, absolves them. It is a fixed point in their minds, he observes, that the Franks would not be so liberal, unless the articles were worth ten times as much as they pay for them. If, therefore, these poor people suppose, no matter whether correctly or not, that they only receive a tenth part of the real value for the articles they dispose of, with what justice can they be charged with dishonesty? In my opinion, many of the trading antiquarians with whom they have to deal are more unprincipled by far than they. At all events, I found them very moderate in their demands. Accustomed to find and set a price upon idols, mummies, and scarabæi, they know much better than the traveller the value of the things in

their possession; I mean the arbitrary value which custom has settled, for, in themselves, the greater part of all such objects are utterly worthless. Whenever they saw me riding across the plain, in my way to or from the ruins, several individuals would come forth to meet me, with all the portable antiquities they possessed; and as I sometimes gave a few *paras* to the women or children whom I met, and who were so unlucky as to have nothing to sell, I observed that it was this part of the population that generally accosted me on my way.

CCCCLXXXII. Though rude, uninformed, and poor, the natives of *Gournou* are not wholly destitute of the means of instruction; a school having been established for the use of these *Troglodytes* by the charity of some holy man — a santon or dervish — who having, in his rambles through the world, amassed what in those countries is esteemed riches, returned home in his latter days, and bestowed upon his poorer and more ignorant neighbours a portion of that which he had received from the bounty of others. True piety, in all religions, manifests itself in benevolence. And I have observed that, throughout the Mohammedan world, the most celebrated sheïkhs, or saints, have shown their good will towards mankind, by establishing schools; in which, though little sound knowledge may be taught, the mind receives some tincture of letters and humanity. Ignorance, however, is a plant hard to kill. The Mohammedans generally regard Europeans as magicians, superior to them-

selves in knowledge, but deriving that knowledge from an unlawful source, and withal capricious, mischievous, uncertain in their tempers. They therefore confide in them reluctantly. But when disease comes upon them, and the superstitious practices of people of their own religion are found to be of no avail, prejudice generally gives way to the dread of death, and the arts of the Frank magicians are resorted to. Nevertheless, bigotry sometimes prevails. A short time before our arrival at Thebes, the infant child of an Arab having been stung by a scorpion, the poison rapidly diffused itself through the body; and the child appeared to be racked by the most excruciating tortures. In this state it was seen by Mrs. Hay, who, happening to be passing by the tomb, was induced by her kind and charitable disposition, which on all occasions leads her to pity and relieve the wants of the poor, to interest herself more deeply than ordinary in its fate. She therefore desired the afflicted mother to follow her immediately, that not a moment might be lost in applying the proper remedies. Having waited some little time, and perceiving that she did not arrive, Mrs. Hay again rode to the tomb, where she found that the infant was dead;—an ignorant prejudice against the medical practice of the Franks having prevented the mother from availing herself of the aid of her benevolent neighbour; no other motive can account for so criminal a neglect.

CCCCLXXXIII. Scorpions are said to be ex-

ceedingly abundant among the ruins, and in the vicinity of Thebes. At certain seasons of the year they may be found under almost every stone, particularly about the *Memnonium*, where the heat, concentrated among the rocks, is intense. They likewise find their way into the inhabited tombs, and take refuge in holes in the walls, through which, how often soever they may be stopped up, the patient reptiles again work a passage out, and appear in their old places, until they are caught and killed. There was a scorpion's hole at my bed's head, in *Gournou;* but its inhabitant never appeared during my stay. They are often caught under mats which are not daily taken up and shaken. A spider of very large size, reported to be exceedingly venomous, is also found here among the rocks and catacombs, where the superstitious natives may perhaps conceive it to derive its poison from feeding on the bodies of the dead. Several gentlemen, residing at Thebes, having heard of its noxious qualities, caught, during the preceding summer, a scorpion and one of these spiders, and confining them together under a glass, contrived by repeated irritation to provoke them to attack each other. The scorpion at first lay torpid, neither approaching nor shrinking from the spider; but being brought repeatedly in contact with his adversary, who was more active and irritable, he appeared to be roused, and eager to commence the combat. They were now once more brought together. The scorpion, conscious of his power of harming, constantly endeavoured to sting the spider; but the

latter, catching the head of his enemy between his long feelers, appeared to inflict on him an invisible wound; for each time this happened the scorpion writhed with agony, and became evidently weaker. Whether or not, like the rattle-snake, in the horrible experiment made on this reptile in America, the scorpion stung himself during these paroxysms, I could not ascertain from those who witnessed the spectacle; but at length he was again seized by the spider, which seemed, as it does in killing a fly, to delight in tormenting his foe; and while exerting its power of destruction, caused more sensible demonstrations of pain and suffering in the scorpion than we commonly suppose to be incidental to a physical organisation so inferior to our own. In a few minutes the spider had effected its purpose. The scorpion was killed.

CCCCLXXXIV. A similar fight took place between a small crocodile and a *wahren*, or gigantic lizard of the desert. In this case, neither of the animals seemed disposed to begin the attack; and it was with the utmost difficulty that they could be forced to exert upon each other the power intrusted to them by nature for their own defence, or to procure their proper food. Crocodiles are numerous in this part of the Nile. And among the Arabs of Karnak there are several who understand the method of destroying them; which they do merely for the purpose of stuffing, and selling their skins to travellers. The patience and phlegm they exhibit in this species of

sportsmanship are worthy of a Dutchman. On one of the numerous sandy islands intersecting the channel of the Nile they dig a deep pit, carefully distributing over the surface the sand thrown up from below. For several days after this operation, the crocodile, finding an alteration in the appearance of his old haunt, and dreading an ambush, remains in the water, or resorts to some other island; but growing accustomed by degrees to the physiognomy of the place, he returns, and basks there as usual in the sun. Observing this, the Arab, who has all the while been watching his movements, crosses over by night to the island, carrying with him provisions for two or three days, and lies down in the pit, with his musket loaded with iron ball. Here he watches for the emerging of the crocodile from the water; and aiming at the under part of the body, seldom fails to effect his purpose.

CCCCLXXXV. Travellers usually complain of the number and fierceness of the dogs which infest the cemeteries and uninhabited parts of Alexandria. But they are tame and gentle compared with those of *Gournou*, where night and day their bark is heard, following at your heels in troops when you leave the village, and angrily assailing you, at every winding of the road, and the entrance to every tomb, on your return. Were they contented with barking, however, the nuisance would be less intolerable; but, unless kept off by sticks or stones, and those neither light nor small ones, they would tear you like wild beasts.

The whole face of the hill, from the tombs to the cultivable land, having been broken up in search of mummies, is full of deep and dangerous pitfalls. Here, where the majority of the vulgar dead seem to have been buried, fragments of bodies, unbandaged, and torn open in search of papyri, legs, arms, bones, skulls, chips of coffins, painted linen, morsels of bitumen and resin, and other funereal paraphernalia, strew the ground in all directions. It does not appear that the Arabs, as some travellers have pretended, habitually make use of the dead bodies for fuel, though they would no doubt burn well, on account of their dryness, and the great quantity of combustible matter they contain; for, though wood and charcoal are extremely dear, and they have no substitute but the dry dung of animals, heaps of mummies are left to fall to dust upon the surface of the earth, in the neighbourhood of their dwellings. Yet, were all these remains collected, and consumed on one pile, or even burned piecemeal by the Arabs, it would be less offensive to the feelings than to behold them thus wantonly trampled under foot.

CHAPTER IV.

TEMPLE OF LUXOR — DANCING-GIRLS WHO SPOKE FRENCH — GIGANTIC BLACK ALMÉ — VAST PROPYLON AND OBELISKS — SPLENDID APPEARANCE OF THE GRAND ENTRANCE — THEORY OF BEAUTY — EGYPTIANS IGNORANT OF THE BEAUTIFUL — GRAND PERISTYLE — OTHER REMAINS OF THE TEMPLE — NOBLE VIEW OF THEBES — LOFTY MOUNTAIN — PLAIN OF KARNAK — GRAND AVENUE OF SPHYNXES — RUINS OF THE GREAT TEMPLE — MOTIVE OF THE ROYAL FOUNDERS — MAGNIFICENCE OF THE REMAINS — GRAND HALL OF COLUMNS — SPARROWS — POLITICAL DEGRADATION OF THE EGYPTIANS — CASTES — IGNORANCE — INVENTION AND USE OF LETTERS — NORTHERN ASPECT — ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATIONS — ENORMOUS PROPYLON — FOUNDATION OF THE EGYPTIAN TEMPLES ARCHITECTURAL VISTA — GODS OF THE TEMPLE — PAN AND VENUS — THE TOMBS — DEPARTURE FROM THEBES — BEAUTY OF THE NIGHT — WILD SCENERY — DESCEND THE RIVER TO GHENEH — DENDERA — SURVEY OF THE RED SEA — OCCUPATION OF ABYSSINIA — CHARACTER OF BRUCE — DIOSPOLIS PARVA.

CCCCLXXXVI. When we had seen the principal remains of antiquity on the western bank of the Nile, which appears to have been the site of the original city, and to contain the most ancient monuments, we passed over to the eastern side, and commenced our observations with the temple of *Luxor*. Portions of this vast ruin are filled up by the dwellings and cow-houses of the Arabs; who, by converting some of the lower chambers into *latrinæ*, have rendered them absolutely unapproachable. The French employed

in removing the obelisk had fitted up, at the southern extremity of the temple, a small house; which, at their departure, they left entire for the use of travellers. In this we breakfasted; and had scarcely ended, when a dancing girl, evidently accustomed to the house, made her appearance at the door inquiring whether our party required her services. These women are numerous at *Luxor*, and seem to have made some progress in refinement during the removal of the obelisk; for some of them spoke French, particularly the mistress of the band, who was an Arab. Her pupils, all accomplished *almé*, exhibited every variety of complexion, from the jet black of the negress to the fairness of an European woman, and were dressed in as many costumes. One of the black women, not of the negro race, was remarkable for the symmetry of her features, but still more so for her lofty stature. Few men in *Luxor* equalled her in height. Though evidently a native of some distant country, she had adopted the Arab dress, but still retained many of her savage ornaments about her neck and in her tresses. They wandered all day about the village; and, on the appearance of a kandjia, descended to the banks of the river, where they danced and sang their lascivious songs upon the shore.

CCCCLXXXVII. The ruins of the temple, which appear to consist of an original shrine and the repeated additions of subsequent ages, are upwards of eight hundred feet in length. The entrance is towards the north, where a propylon of vast propor-

tions, covered with battle-scenes in a rude but vigorous style, adorned in front with collossal statues, and, recently, with two of the noblest and loftiest obelisks in the world, masks the scattered fragments of the structure. One of these obelisks, as I was informed by an officer of the *Luxor*, was considerably higher than the other; and the greater one, he said, remained and had been given to the English. I trust it will never be removed. There are four collossal statues, two on either hand, more than half buried in mounds of rubbish. When entire, — both the obelisks standing, the statues perfect, the walls covered with warlike representations, the mouldings, cornices, architraves, hieroglyphics, painted in brilliant colours, and the whole surrounded by a spacious paved area, — the façade of this propylon must unquestionably have presented an aspect of extraordinary grandeur. It was in the invention of this part of their sacred edifices that the architects of Egypt exhibited the most unequivocal proofs of genius. The aspect of stability; the pyramidal inclination of the sides, contrived to increase its apparent height; the wide and lofty portals, adorned, like the rest, with a profusion of imagery; the prodigious flag-staffs fixed against either wing, and surpassing in height the masts of a line-of-battle ship, from which, on certain occasions, enormous streamers were unfurled to the breeze; the towering sculptured obelisks, emblematic of the solar ray, which flanked the entrance; and the swart colossal figures of gods, reposing on immovable thrones in front of their dwelling, from which their solemn

appearance might suffice to chase away the profane; — all these combined circumstances conferred on the propylon and grand entrance to the temple of *Luxor* an irresistible claim to public admiration. And we still, in spite of time, experience something of this feeling; though our views and sentiments differ so widely from those of the Egyptian, who cast a hurried awe-stricken glance at these mysterious objects, as he hastened into the interior, with all the humiliation of superstition in his soul. He dared not mingle, as we do, criticism with praise. But if, as has been repeatedly advanced, this style of architecture, with its accessories, united in its design the severe elements of grandeur with the utmost luxuriance of ornament, it must at the same time be owned that Egypt seems never to have produced an artist capable of skilfully combining these elements so as to produce one harmonious whole, uniting taste with magnificence, and beauty with sublimity. Something always presents itself to the eye, of which the judgment disapproves: and, as we contemplate works of art chiefly for the delight they inspire, by producing in our minds a harmony analogous to what we observe in them, this involuntary appeal to the critical faculty, where the imagination only is directly concerned, is highly painful.

CCCCLXXXVIII. The puerile inference, because, among different nations, various and, perhaps, contradictory ideas of beauty prevail, that therefore there is no standard of beauty, is as pernicious in the

arts as a corresponding notion would prove in philosophy and morals. What is true, is as difficult to decide as, what is beautiful; yet few persons are found to deny the existence of truth. The same thing may be said of virtue, or moral beauty. Certain forms awaken in the soul trains of sensations highly pleasurable, inducing intense tranquillity, and gilding all the images of our fancy with sunshine. In these forms, whether animate or inanimate, we recognise the principle of beauty. Rude and ignorant nations, occupied principally with the ordinary cares of life, and, among civilised people, all those classes of the community whose thoughts are absorbed by the pursuits of gain, necessarily entertain very imperfect ideas of beauty, if they at all concern themselves about the matter. When men begin, however, to direct their minds towards the imitative arts, their notions of beauty grow more enlightened: they discover that some forms possess in a much higher degree than others the power of pleasurably affecting the soul, or of producing temporary happiness; and perceive that the perfection of art consists in infusing into their works the greatest possible proportion of this ingredient. In the science of beauty, therefore, as in all other sciences, progress can only be made by application and study: and if men and nations differ from each other in the ideas which they entertain on this subject, all we can infer from this circumstance is, that the greater number are ignorant; and the conceptions of ignorance must always be unlike those of knowledge.

CCCCLXXXIX. If we apply these remarks to the Egyptians, we shall discover that, during the whole period of their existence as a nation, they were never able to soar into those elevated regions of art in which the pure type of the beautiful is found. Animated by the desire to arrive at this envied height, they undoubtedly were; and to this we owe the numerous monuments of perseverance and power which still ennoble the land they inhabited: but it remained for an European nation, gifted by nature with a physical organisation and an intellectual warmth and energy never bestowed on any Oriental people, to carry the imitative arts to perfection—to bequeath to posterity, in almost every branch of them, models of inimitable beauty, which, copied and repeated ten thousand times by succeeding artists, have never yet been equalled, whatever may be the success reserved for the genius of the present age.

CCCCXC. From the colossal statues and sculptured battle scenes adorning the propylon of the temple of *Luxor*, which led to the above digression, let us pass into the interior of the edifice. The dromos, or great court, was originally surrounded by a magnificent peristyle, consisting of two rows of massive columns, profusely covered with painted hieroglyphics and symbolical sculpture. But the whole of this extensive area is now choked up with the miserable dwellings of the Arabs; who, without understanding what they do, destroy one part after another of these vast structures, not wantonly, perhaps, but

because their views of comfort and accommodation, into which we cannot properly enter, appear to require such depredations. To view many parts of what remains, you must enter into their houses, and disturb their families. From this court we proceed into what was probably the pronaos, where the double row of columns, seven on either hand, extending down the centre, from the dromos to the cella, alone remains. They are adorned with the spreading or bell-formed capital, and though partly buried in the sand, have an exceedingly stately appearance. The cella, into which we must now climb over the wall,—the regular entrance being blocked up,—seems to have been hypæthral, as there is no appearance of there having been rows of columns in the centre, without which the Egyptians knew no means of roofing their buildings. A grand colonnade, with a double row of lofty pillars, extends the whole length of the open area on either side; but as, in the construction of their temples, the Egyptians were directed by no principle of regularity, what we imagine to have been a cella, they may have considered as a court; which is rendered the more probable by our finding, immediately beyond it, a considerable hypostyle, consisting of eight ranges of columns, of four in each row. The remainder of the edifice is divided into several small apartments, some adorned with pillars, others without them; but which of these chambers ought to be considered as the adytum, it seems difficult to determine. Near the southern extremity of the temple, are the remains of an ancient quay.

CCCCXCI. From the terrace of the traveller's house at *Luxor*, — where Messrs. Jones and Gouri, and the Indian officers resided during their stay,— we enjoyed an extensive prospect of the plain and ruins of western Thebes, backed by the vast cliffs and craggy heights of the Lybian mountains, one peak of which appears to attain an elevation of at least twelve or thirteen hundred feet above the level of the Nile; though some travellers have estimated the greatest elevation of these mountains at not more than four hundred feet: an extraordinary discrepancy! To me, however, the conical peak rising immediately above the tombs of the kings seemed to possess nearly three times the height of the great pyramid; and whoever has climbed its precipitous and craggy sides, and looked down from thence on the valley of the Nile, will probably incline to my opinion. For taking its exact elevation none of us possessed the necessary instruments. It may, perhaps, be worthy of remark, that all this part of the Libyan range is composed of rock containing innumerable fossil shells, several specimens of which we collected.

CCCCXCII. From the village of *Luxor* we proceeded across the plain to *Karnak*. Cultivation has not here, as about the site of Memphis, covered the fields with verdure, or raised living avenues of date palms, to replace the fallen obelisk and column. The country is nearly desert, and the date woods are few and scanty. So much the more impressive, however, are the ruins. Even a sheïkh's tomb, or a

dilapidated caravanserai, on this dreary and abandoned plain, would be an object of interest; and it will therefore be easy to imagine the effect, in such a situation, of the most prodigious masses of ruin anywhere existing on the globe. The great propylon, with its gigantic portal, commands admiration from afar. Presently we reach the commencement of that long avenue of colossal sphynxes by which we approach the entrance looking towards the south. These mysterious symbolical figures, intended to represent the united beauty and strength of two natures, couching on either side of your path, awaken, in spite of time and violence, which have leagued together against them, strong emotions of pleasure, touched with melancholy, and mingled with regret. You behold them extending one beyond another in vast files to the portal of the temple. But the traveller is at first distracted by the multitude of objects around him; and, before he examines any portion minutely, passes hastily through the whole, enjoying, rather than observing. The plan of this vast scene of ruins has never been satisfactorily made out. Perhaps the heterogeneous parts now comprehended under the name of the temple of Karnak, never formed, in reality, portions of the same building, but were contiguous edifices, partly sacred, and partly secular. The plans of Messrs. Catherwood and Arundale, which I saw at *Gournou*, appear to strengthen this suspicion; but this and other questions connected with these ruins can never be determined without extensive excavations.

CCCCXCIII. In describing the arts by which tyranny aimed of old at keeping the people in subjection, Aristotle enumerates, among the most efficacious, that of utterly impoverishing them, by erecting prodigiously expensive structures, such as the pyramids of Egypt, and the magnificent dedications of Cypselus. The Theban kings appear to have been deeply versed in these arts. To their slaves, the motive assigned, if they condescended to assign any, was, of course, piety towards the gods; and with persons of a character analogous to that of their slaves, they have obtained, in succeeding ages, credit for so holy an intention. But with their political motives, a large proportion of mere vanity was probably mingled, advancing recklessly to its own gratification, through the sweat, and toil, and homely privations, of the poor. And to these united incentives we owe the architectural grandeur of such edifices as the temple of *Karnak*. Considerations of this kind are not the first, however, which present themselves to the mind of the traveller, in the midst of ruins so vast and magnificent. Beholding before him the result of the continuous labour of myriads, once arranged and distributed into something like a whole, designed to create in the minds of the spectators a sentiment of superstitious awe, but now shattered to fragments, and grouped in picturesque masses of ruin by the giant hand of Time, the feelings which spontaneously arise are those of satisfaction and pleasure. Art, he perceives, has been there. The towering column, the aspiring obelisk, the

frieze and architrave, covered with symbolical imagery, together with the vast portals, beneath which Typhæus or Enceladus might have entered without bowing the head, and the innumerable characters of unknown import which everywhere meet the eye, combine to awaken in his breast the sentiment of enthusiasm. Under the influence of this feeling we long wandered through the temple. Each took a different way. I remained alone in the grand hall, where one hundred and sixty-two columns, covered with painted sculpture and hieroglyphics, support the roof, and, disposed in numerous ranges, produce a series of long vistas, resembling the openings in a forest. Sitting down at the foot of one of these pillars, between which the bright sunshine streamed in broad masses through the breaks in the wall, I contemplated at leisure the features of the scene around me. Many doves, and innumerable sparrows, were perched above upon the painted capitals, cooing and twittering, or flitting to and fro between the columns. Hawks, too, the sacred birds of Osiris, were wheeling about and screaming over head. These were the only sounds audible, and they were not unpleasing.

CCCCXCIV. Few persons, in such a situation, would be able to resist the temptation to indulge in melancholy reflections. And though it was equally foreign to my object and character to seek, among the wrecks of antiquity, the means of saddening my mind, I imperceptibly fell into the trite subject of the political fate of man, and the debased and humiliating con-

dition to which the greater number have been doomed in almost all countries. The very edifice in which I sat had been one of the instruments by which the political degradation of the Egyptians had been effected. Priestly craft, combined with the absolute power of kings, sunk them, in many respects, below the level of the brute; and legislation, if the regulations by which despots hedge round their power deserve the name, divided them, if there be any faith in history, into castes, by which the majority were condemned to pursue from father to son, without hope or chance of a favourable change, the most sordid and servile drudgery. From the enjoyments and pleasures of science, literature, and arts, they were necessarily excluded for ever. For, since the members of one caste could not encroach on the province of another, all persons not of the sacerdotal order, which preserved the monopoly of intellectual pursuits, must necessarily have been plunged in the profoundest ignorance; which will account for the prevalence of human sacrifices so late as the age of Amasis; and of animal worship, until their bestial gods were put to flight by Christianity. Ancient Egypt, if we draw aside the veil cast over it by ignorant admiration, was nothing but a nest of priests and slaves; for despotism itself was here subordinate to the sacerdotal tyrants, who either elevated a member of their order to the throne, or, when the sceptre had passed by unavoidable accident into the hands of another, associated its possessor with themselves. Thus it happened

that Egypt produced neither poets, nor historians, nor artists, properly so called. By all these forms of intellectual exertion* men address themselves to the people; and in Egypt the people were not only incapable of deriving either profit or advantage from such labours, but were absolutely excluded by the law from enjoyments of this exalted kind. Hence, to return to the point from which I set out, though the genius of the nation would appear to have qualified them for excelling in technical pursuits, none of

* If we reflect upon the incalculable advantages which mankind have derived from the invention of letters, we shall know how to appreciate the character of the Egyptian priesthood, who laboured to maintain for their own order a monopoly of those advantages. The specious arguments by which they sought, when humbled by conquest, to disguise the enormity of their ancient practices, seem to be stated by Plato in the following passage: — "Theuth — the inventor of letters — is reported to have fully unfolded to Thamus (king of Egypt) many particulars respecting each art, which it would be too prolix to mention. But when they came to discourse upon letters, "This discipline, O king!" says Theuth, "will render the Egyptians wiser and increase their powers of memory; for this invention is the medicine of memory and wisdom." To this Thamus replied, "O most artificial Theuth, one person is more adapted to artificial operations; but another to judging what detriment or advantage will arise from the use of these productions of art: and now, you who are the father of letters, through the benevolence of your disposition, have affirmed just the contrary of what letters are able to effect. For these, though the negligence of recollection will produce oblivion in the soul of the learner,—because, through trusting to the external and foreign marks of writing, he will not exercise the internal power of recollection,—so you have not discovered the medicine of memory, but of admonition. You will likewise deliver to your disciples an opinion of wisdom, and not truth; for, in consequence of having many readers, without the instruction (assistance) of a master, the multitude will appear to be knowing in many things of which they are at the same time ignorant; and will become troublesome associates, in consequence of possessing an opinion of wisdom, instead of wisdom itself."

the arts attained to perfection in this country, and the greater number languished in cold mediocrity.

CCCCXCV. When I had remained for some time at the foot of the column, pursuing my ideas into periods of remote antiquity, my companions returned into the hypostyle, and we proceeded to examine together the general aspect of the temple. One of its principal faces looks towards the river, or north-west, and was approached by another avenue of sphynxes, apparently extending from the Nile to the great gateway of the propylon. On the right side of the entrance, engraved on the stone, is a statement of the exact longitudes and latitudes of several celebrated sites in Upper Egypt, as ascertained by the French astronomers who accompanied the division of *Dessaix*. This useful piece of information I copied, and shall here insert:—

	Long.	Lat.
1. Déndera, -	30° 21′ 0″	26° 10′ 0″
2. Karnak, - -	30 20 4	25 44 15
3. Luxor, -	30 19 16	25 42 55
4. Esneh, - -	30 14 12	25 19 39
5. Edfoo, -	30 33 4	25 0 0
6. Ombos, -	30 38 39	24 28 0
7. Syeue, -	30 34 19	24 8 6
8. Philæ, - -	30 33 46	24 3 45

This prodigious propylon, nearly four hundred feet in length, formed no part of the original edifice, but was a comparatively modern addition, left unfinished, and containing neither sculpture nor hieroglyphics. We next enter into a grand court, adorned on either

side with a colonnade, and in the centre with two rows of enormous columns, between which we proceed from the gateway of the propylon to the great portal of the temple. The shafts of these stately pillars are covered with a profusion of hieroglyphics and symbolical figures. On the right side of the entrance is the trunk of a granite colossal statue, facing the north, with one foot advanced. Here the remains of another propylon, more ancient than the former, extend to the right and left, and terminate the court; on the southern side of which is a small temple, standing at right angles with the greater structure. The true cause of the ruin of these propylæa—sometimes supposed to have been an earthquake—in all probability, was their own enormous weight, which, pressing on the yielding foundations, compelled them to give way, and covered the surrounding space with mountains of ruins. I was led by many observations to this conclusion, after having, at first, adopted the received notion. Very few of the pillars, which, consisting of numerous blocks of moderate dimensions, might be overthrown with comparative facility, have been subverted, or left in a tottering position on their bases. Many other parts of the edifice, and of the surrounding buildings, far less solid than the western propylæa, appear to have sustained no shock, not a stone having been displaced, except by man. The same thing is observable in the *Memnonium*, on the western bank. Those portions of the edifice erected on the rock preserve the most perfect equilibrium;

whereas the grand propylon, built on the edge of the cultivable land, has been shattered to pieces. And it should, moreover, be remarked, that it has fallen out eastward, in the direction of the plain, where, reasoning *à priori*, we should, according to this view of the matter, have expected the foundations to give way first. For this reason, I imagine, the Egyptians erected their principal structures on the edge of the desert, where they could, as in the case of the pyramids, found them on a rock; and the cities built without regard to this rule, among which Memphis was the principal, have for the most part disappeared entirely.

CCCCXCVI. Passing through the gateway of the second propylon, we proceed into that vast hypostyle briefly noticed above, which may be regarded, next after the pyramids, as the noblest creation of Egyptian architecture. Down the centre of this immense hall extends a double row of magnificent columns, with richly spreading capitals, considerably loftier than the numerous ranges on either side, forming the grand avenue by which the sight is conducted to that splendid architectural vista, consisting of columns, obelisks, propylæa, placed in regular succession one beyond the other, and terminating in a view of the distant mountains. The bell-formed capitals, surmounted by low plinths covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics, are admirably proportioned, and their ornaments, most gorgeously painted, consist of the full-blown lotus, alternating with two

budding ones. An architrave, moulding, and cornice, in the usual ornamental style, ran along the top of the next row of columns on either side, supporting a number of plain square pillars, which, rising to the height of the double row in the middle, sustained the loftiest part of the roof. The interspace between these square pillars formed, on either side, a line of large windows, from which the rays of light streaming obliquely, illuminated the lateral extremities of the hall. If the capital of the larger and loftier columns represents the calyx of the full-blown lotus, which seems to be a probable supposition, that of the smaller ones may be taken for the same flower in the half-expanded bud, with its apex truncated, and surmounted by a plinth; and if so, we must acknowledge that, in this arrangement, so strictly conformable to the order of nature, the Egyptians exhibited an unusual degree of good taste.

CCCCXCVII. In whatever direction we proceed from this hypostyle, our progress is impeded by enormous masses of ruin. Columns overthrown and shattered, architrave falling against architrave, friezes, entablatures, capitals, covered with painted imagery, and blocks of stone of enormous magnitude, are piled up around on all sides. It were fruitless, amid a chaos of this kind, to attempt, in our description, any thing like order or connection: the very nature of the scene forbids it. From bas-reliefs, sharp and fresh, as if recently executed, the eye suddenly passes to a shapeless mound of stones and earth, a shattered

wall, or overthrown obelisk. But whose temple was this? Solemn antiquarians, who pore over the mythological fables of antiquity until they seem to believe them, and trick out the most fantastic dreams with a pompous apparatus of erudition, will probably maintain that it was sacred to *Ammon Generator*. But was not this divinity one of the *Fetish* gods of ancient Africa, similar in functions and character with the Pan *, or the Priapus of the Greeks? Among the innumerable figures sculptured on the walls and columns of this vast fane, that of Mendes or Chemmis, whom, from the analogy of his attributes, the Greeks confounded with their Pan, is by far the most prominent, and the most frequently repeated. We observe him everywhere, both within and without, with his hand beneath the mystic van, his lofty mitre, his altar, his lotus, and his symbolical cypress cones † behind him. Beside this altar stands a naked goddess, with the pschent and lituus mitre; the counterpart, probably, of the Paphian Queen, who shared with Mendes the worship of the dissolute Thebans. In front a devotee approaches the god, with a basket of flowers. War-scenes, and sacred processions in boats, are sculptured on the exterior walls; but they differ neither in character nor execution from those already described.

* In fact, Plutarch confounds Ammon with Pan (*De Isid. et Osirid.*); and, accordingly, Pan is sometimes represented with the head of a ram. — *Payne Knight*, pp. 65, 66.

† Three cones, not unlike those of Chemmis, are found on the coins of Cyprus; and in a picture discovered at Herculaneum, representing the worship of the Paphian Venus, is an altar of similar form. — *Pitture Antiche d'Ercolano*, t. iii. pl. 52. — *Brot. not. ad Tacit. Hist.* ii. 3.

Monday, Feb. 18. *Gheneh.*

CCCCXCVIII. Having spent the whole night in conversation at Mr. Hay's, in the tombs of *Gournou*, we this morning, about four o'clock, bade adieu to Thebes, and recommenced our voyage down the Nile. Our party had been numerous, and I question whether the ancient inhabitants, when they brought in the figures of their deceased ancestors to enliven the festive scene, ever passed an evening more agreeably; the scene was eminently curious. Eight Englishmen, two Greeks, and a Frenchman, seated at the same table, in an Egyptian tomb, discussing a thousand modern topics, and drinking the wines of Madeira and France, where mummies had lain in darkness and silence for three thousand years. When the time for departing arrived, we quitted our hospitable hosts with regret, and, lighted by the lanterns of the Arabs, threaded our way down the mountain, between vast mounds of ruins, deep excavations, and innumerable mummy-pits. Our guides, however, were well versed in the localities, and our asses sure-footed. The sound of voices, and the light streaming from the lanterns, roused the wild dogs, which came forth in troops from their hiding-places in the tombs, and followed us far towards the plains with loud incessant barkings, which were multiplied by the echoes. These, as we moved rapidly along, were soon left far behind; and, passing by the temple of *Northern Dair*, we reached our kandjias on the river. It was a night of inimitable beauty: the stars seemed

to glow with a supernatural splendour, and their clustered images, brightly reflected from the glossy surface of the Nile, converted its tranquil waters into a mimic sky. On all sides the features of the landscape were replete with grandeur; the steep wild rocks above the *Memnonium* and *Medinet Habou*, the ruins of prodigious temples beheld dimly, between scattered woods, across the plain, together with the dusky outline of the Arabian mountains lowering far towards the east, all thickly peopled with rocollections of the past, and involuntarily presenting to the imagination pictures of the secular and religious magnificence once exhibited on that silent spot, combined to render this farewell view of Thebes peculiarly impressive. Shortly the sun began to gild the peaks of the mountains, which, as he rose, exhibited in succession all the varying and splendid tints of the morning, as on the day of my first arrival from *Déndera*. On reaching *Gheneh*, in the afternoon, we dined at the house of our vice-consul with a party of Indian officers, on their way to England, who had crossed the desert from *Kossier* for the purpose of visiting the ruins on the Nile.

Tuesday, Feb. 19. *Aulad Amér.*

CCCCXCIX. In company with Lieutenants Welsted and Carlis, who had accompanied us from Thebes, we again visited the temple of *Déndera*, where we were joined by the party from India. Our conversation, which, at Thebes, had turned

chiefly upon antiquities, now diverged to the present state of the neighbouring countries, which hereafter, perhaps, may be of importance to England; as the accurate survey of the Red Sea, from the Straits of Babelmandel to Suez, now nearly completed by the ships of the East India Company, will probably lead to a great extension of our commerce: in which case, considering the character of the natives, forts will be necessary on various points; and if these forts do not gradually swell into towns, and form the germs of colonies, we shall certainly be wanting in our duty. Abyssinia, on which Mohammed Ali has long had designs, might be far more usefully occupied by England. Its importance, as an emporium, in conducting an extensive traffic with the interior of Africa, would be considerable, and the force necessary for taking possession of it comparatively small, since the natives, in general, ardently desire to be emancipated from their present tyrants, under whom they can never hope to taste either freedom or tranquillity. From the missionaries, with one of whom, just returned from Tigré, I conversed at Cairo, much useful information might be obtained. According to his account, the most complete anarchy prevails throughout the country. Of religion, law, and every other element of civilisation and national happiness, they are utterly destitute; and society itself, if it can truly be said to exist at all, is rapidly approaching its dissolution. The character of Bruce, whose name the bare mention of Abyssinia must suggest to every educated person, may now be thought scarcely to

require any further defence; yet I was more than ordinarily gratified by learning from this missionary, *M. Gobet*, that everything he had observed, during a protracted residence in that country, tended to corroborate the most disputed relations of Bruce. Lieutenant Welsted also, whose reading and scientific knowledge confer a value on his testimony, observed that the result of the new survey of the Red Sea would be highly favourable to the reputation of this distinguished traveller, whose longitudes and latitudes, in almost every case, had been found to be correct in a very extraordinary degree. It is to be regretted that, through the interference of a Bedouin Sheïkh, the extremity of the Gulf of *Akaba* has not been surveyed by our scientific expedition. This intractable Arab refused to consent, even for a present, to allow them to proceed peaceably with their operations, and they were not authorised by the Bombay government to make use of force. Taking leave of our most agreeably guests, who were returning to the Red Sea, we proceeded down the Nile, and, late in the evening, the wind being high and contrary, moored for a few hours near *Oulad Amér*.

Wednesday, Feb. 20. *On the Nile.*

D. Early in the morning we found ourselves near *Haou* or Diospolis Parva, but did not disembark, as the place no longer contains any vestige of antiquity. The wind being favourable, we advanced rapidly all day, and remained on board until sunset; when the beauty of the evening tempted us to land. This

being the last day of the *Ramadan*, was a great feast among the Mohammedans; who, like the Catholics, heartily rejoice at the termination of their Lent. At the approach of evening our boats were lashed together, and continued floating down the stream all night.

CHAPTER V.

GIRGEH — CHEAPNESS OF CORN — HINDOO YOGHI — CHARACTER OF THE TURKS — COUNTRIES ON THE RED SEA — GROTTOES OF LAPIDOTON — SIGNS OF SPRING — GEBEL SHEIKH HARIDI — LEGEND OF THE SACRED SERPENT — EXCAVATIONS IN THE ROCK — CELL OF A MOHAMMEDAN SAINT — TROGLODYTE PALACE — TOMB OF SHEIKH HARIDI — VOTIVE OFFERINGS — RESORT OF PILGRIMS — PASSION FOR FAME — ASCENT OF THE MOUNTAIN — BEDS OF CRYSTAL — VIEW OVER THE LIBYAN DESERT — EVERGREEN WOODS — SIOUT — SPREAD OF THE INUNDATION — CITIES OF THE DEAD — SEPULCHRAL CHAMBERS — VAMPIRE BATS — EXTRAORDINARY EXCAVATION — PLAIN OF SIOUT — GAZELLES — CITY OF SIOUT — FRUIT OF THE LOTUS — BARBER'S SHOP OF THE EAST — FERTILE PLAIN — IMPREGNATION OF THE FEMALE PALM-TREE.

Thursday, Feb. 21. *On the Nile.*

DI. PASSING *Bellianeh* at an early hour, we arrived about eight o'clock at *Girgeh*, formerly the capital of Upper Egypt. This city, which derives its name from a monastery dedicated to St. George, situated within the walls, is still a very considerable place, containing, I was informed, nine large mosques. The private houses, two or three stories high, with neat latticed windows, are built with sun-dried bricks, and appear to be larger and more commodious than in the generality of Egyptian towns; but cleanliness is by no means the characteristic of its inhabitants, for

we were everywhere annoyed by offensive and unsavoury smells. Here, in the bazār, I saw the prettiest Arab girl whom I met with in Egypt, dressed in a style rather above the common, and sitting on one of the stone benches near the door of a shop, to which, perhaps, she belonged. There was no great display of goods in the different shops, nor did the bazār appear crowded, as in many other cities; but I observed numerous hawkers walking to and fro, as at Cairo, with handkerchiefs or red caps in their hands, proclaiming aloud the price bidden for each article. The corn-market was ill-supplied and thinly attended; but the wheat appeared to be of the best quality, though badly cleansed, much chaff remaining among the grain. *Girgeh* has always been celebrated for the cheapness of provisions: wheat was now sold for twenty-six piasters the ardeb. Here I saw a *Yoghi*, or religious mendicant from India, with a small English handkerchief wrapped about his head, and a large oblong black bowl suspended from his shoulder, intended to contain such things as were given him in charity. Colonel Wilford* was informed by the Brahmins of Benares that the object of Hindoo *sanyasis*, in travelling into Egypt, was to visit the Sacred Serpent of Gebel Sheïkh *Haridi*, concerning which many strange legends are related by the modern sages of India. Here, in the bazār, a bold little fellow came near and touched my finger; but, when I took off the glove, appeared horror-stricken,

* Asiatic Researches, iii. 108, 109.

as if I had been skinning my hand. My eye-glass they seem to regard as a talisman of great power; and if I happen to raise it, for the purpose of looking at some distant object, often run away, as if a pistol were pointed at them.

DII. I observed several Turks meet and salute each other in the market-place, by touching ckeeks like the French and Italians. They are easily distinguished by their fine manly features, and gentlemanly appearance; which we regret to discover not to be in keeping with their general character. To us, indeed, they behave with remarkable politeness; but towards the natives, over whom they have long possessed unlimited power, their conduct is imperious and cruel, as towards the Greeks. In the Hejaz, however, where the Bedouins are numerous, the Turk loses his consequence, feels his inferiority, and instinctively yields precedence to the Arab; who, when in the enjoyment of freedom, is a very different being from the *fellah*. Even the Turks themselves, in that distant province, aim at independence, and dispute with the Pasha the possession of the sacred city of Mekka; whence a small band of these military adventurers, not exceeding three hundred in number, being lately repulsed by Ahmed Pasha, proceeded towards the south, and, entering Yemen, took possession of the city of Mokha, on the coast; where they slew the governor, and bade defiance to Mohammed Ali. In the end they will no doubt be overpowered by the Pasha; whose authority, however, in Arabia, is

of a very equivocal nature, and will probably not be of long duration. The present state of all this part of the world, where revolutions and changes are evidently hatching, is highly extraordinary. Circumstances are daily bringing their inhabitants into closer contact with Europeans, more particularly with the English, who might easily render themselves masters of every thing in those parts worthy of their ambition. But we are, at present, acting an extremely impolitic part; sending arms into Abyssinia, instead of carrying them thither; the Bombay government having consigned five hundred muskets and bayonets to the care of Coffin, as a present to the governor of Tigré; but if Coffin, during his residence in the East, has learned anything of Eastern policy, he may, perhaps, employ them in a very different manner.

DIII. We departed from Girgeh about noon; but a strong contrary wind rendered our progress exceedingly slow. In about two hours, however, we reached *Sharacoueh*, on the eastern bank; where various sepulchral excavations in the mountains assist in determining the site of *Lepidoton*. These catacombs, rarely visited by travellers, deserve little attention, except as far as they mark the position of a city, every other vestige of which has disappeared. The largest and most remarkable is situated in a hollow, about half way up the mountain, which is formed of a soft white stone, extremely well adapted for the purposes of the Egyptians, who seem to have

been actuated by an invincible propensity for burrowing in the earth. The entrance consists of a regular doorway, adorned with frieze, torus, and cornice, but entirely destitute of sculpture: the principal apartment is spacious, and was once adorned with four columns, small at the stem, but swelling out, like those of the *Memnonium*, a little above the base, and terminating in the lotus-bud capital, surmounted by a square plinth. Beyond the second chamber, which is of smaller dimensions, and contains two rude square pillars, is a small niche, apparently intended for a statue, but now empty. From the great chamber a staircase leads downwards, probably to a second suite of apartments, with wells and mummy-pits; but, on descending about thirty or forty steps, we found our progress obstructed by large loose blocks of stone. Neither sculpture nor hieroglyphics are found upon the walls. New signs of spring — young flowers and tender green grass — daily appear on the beautifully level plain; and though these prophetic messengers, foretelling the nearer approach of the sun, with the magnificent shows of nature, and thrilling effervescence of spirits it occasions, are everywhere beheld with delight, they here seemed doubly pleasing, from the magical rapidity with which they burst from the sod. The birds are pairing; various beautiful species of the butterfly flutter about us as we walk, and innumerable large bees, whose humming in the ruins of the *Memnonium* frequently reminded me of home, are seen on all sides, alighting on the new-born flowers, or creeping

into their bells; while large flights of cranes and wild ducks, constantly hover about the Nile, seeming, like ourselves, to be journeying northwards.

Friday, Feb. 22. *Rowing all night.*

DIV. Having continued our voyage all night, we arrived this morning, about nine o'clock, at *Gebel Sheïkh Haridi*, remarkable for its wild scenery, but still more so for the strange legends and relics of ancient superstition which still linger about the spot. Here the serpent, the most loathsome and noxious reptile in all the vast gradation of animal existence, appears to have been worshipped from time immemorial. According to the Brahmins, the snake, which resides in this mountain, was formerly king of the serpents, and reigned in *Chacra-giri*, a mountain very far to the eastward; but being terrified by the menaces of *Garuda*, the bird-god, he fled towards the west, and settled near the Nile. His name, they say, is *Sancha-naga*; and it is believed that those who perform yearly and daily rites in his honour will acquire immense riches.* In India, as I have elsewhere observed, the serpent is still worshipped by some tribes, and held in veneration by all.† And in Greece, the cave of Trophonius, famous for the oracles delivered there, abounded, it was said, with

* Asiatic Researches, iii. 107.

† Bishop Heber, Narrative, &c., ii. 15.

serpents, to which those who entered made an offering of a cake of honey.*

DV. The mountain of *Sheïkh Haridi*, forming an integral part of the Arabian chain, rises perpendicularly many hundred feet above the level of the Nile; but there project from its roots many enormous buttresses of gravel and fallen rock, over which the traveller must climb, with extraordinary toil and difficulty, before he reaches the smooth face of the cliff, where the Egyptians have been at their old practice of grotto and tomb hewing. The first excavation we entered is small and insignificant; but close to this is another, consisting of numerous spacious chambers, adorned with enormous pillars of rock, supporting the weight of the superincumbent mountain. On the side of one of these pillars, which may probably be about ninety feet in circumference, we observed a tablet, smooth, polished, and sculptured over with figures of the Egyptian divinities, *Phthah* and *Mendes*, *Isis* and *Aroëris*, and *Athor*. These excavations would form very delightful dwellings. Airy and cool, and raised several hundred feet above the plain, with large openings, like windows, towards the west, they command an extensive and highly varied prospect. From this rude hypogeum, to whatever god it may have been sacred, we proceeded along a narrow terrace, towards a large break,

* At Epidaurus, Esculapius was worshipped under the form of a living serpent.— *Liv. Hist. Epit.* l. xi. p. 311. *edit.* 18mo. — *Müller's Hist. and Antiq. of the Doric Race*, vol. i. p. 119.

or perpendicular fissure in the mountain, where a small track worn in the rock, as if by the foot of the wild goat, conducted along the face of the cliff, by a steep and dangerous way, to the cell of a Mohammedan saint. The floor was covered with clean mats, and, at the further extremity of the cell, stood a small table, with a deep box beneath, on which the holy man probably laid his food or his water-jar, and where the pious passers-by deposited their offerings. The sheïkh appeared to have been some time from home, for his earthen pots were broken, and the feathers of some wild bird, perhaps of the hawk or the eagle, were lying on a corner of the mat. Nothing could be more romantic, or favourable to meditation, than this lonely and elevated cell. In such a retreat Minos invented his laws, and Mohammed his Koran; and in a similar cave, among the cliffs of Salamis, Euripides composed many of those tragedies which have rendered his name familiar to mankind. Unfortunately, the sheïkhs of Islamism convert their solitude to no useful purpose; but if, as appears to be the case with many, they pass their lives in harmless piety, little harm accrues to society from their seclusion, or the scanty charity on which they subsist.

DVI. Descending from this cell, we again skirted along the face of the cliff, in search of Sheïkh Haridi's tomb, with the situation of which my Arab attendant was unacquainted, and no guide presented himself. Near a large isolated rock below, upon the plain, we

observed the fragments of a colossal statue; and, continuing to advance for some time in a northerly direction, arrived opposite a broad cleft in the mountain, towards which we ascended over crags and low precipices, in the midst of intense heat, caused by the direct and reflected rays of the mid-day sun. Upon reaching the entrance to the opening, which proved to be far more difficult of access than it had at first seemed, we discovered, on the right, the doorway and windows of a noble range of apartments, extending, like a colonnade, southward, along the face of the cliff. There were no sculpture or hieroglyphics; but the columns supporting the roof, though rude and destitute of capital, were of prodigious dimensions; and the chambers, spacious, lofty, and exceedingly clean, seemed to have belonged to a Troglodyte palace. Entering the opening in the cliff, and proceeding a few hundred yards, we found ourselves on the brink of a chasm or rocky hollow, of immense depth, surrounded on all sides by a series of impending cliffs and wild crags, maintaining at the bottom an almost perpetual shade; for which cause, perhaps, it was selected by *Haridi* as his residence and place of burial. I descended with respect towards the Sheïkh's tomb. Like the mausolea of other Mohammedan saints, it consists of a small square building, surmounted by a neat dome, of a bright white colour. On the northern exterior wall is painted the figure of one of the ordinary boats of the country in full sail; and in the interior, suspended on a slender beam, are

three diminutive boats, with sails and rigging, which probably were so many votive offerings made to the saint by the mariners of the Nile, among whom he seems to have succeeded to the honours of Castor and Pollux. Hagenaar, an old Dutch navigator, observes in his voyage to the Persian Gulf, that at Gombroon, fishermen, and other masters of ships, were accustomed to hang up in the mosques little paper figures of their vessels as votive offerings. This is the earliest, and, indeed, the only notice of the practice I remember to have seen. The interior of the tomb is painted over with various devices in red and white, below which, a number of Arabic sentences, probably from the *Koran*, extend round the base of the dome, between two ornamental borders. In the wall are two or three small niches, intended, perhaps, to serve as cupboards. The stone threshold of the door has been worn smooth by the feet of the devout, who come thither to pray; and when I entered, my attendant, though by no means a rigid Musulman, requested me to take off my shoes, out of respect to God, for that the man who lay buried there had been a great prophet, and one of God's most distinguished servants. I excused myself on account of the extreme coldness of the stones; observing, however, that I entertained no disrespect for the Sheïkh, but, on the contrary, should highly honour him if he were really a good man. Nearly opposite the tomb there is another similar but smaller building, erected at the mouth of a narrow cavern, out of which, I imagine, the serpent, supposed to contain the soul of the Sheïkh, comes forth occa-

sionally to receive the offerings, and, I fear, the worship of the pious.

DVII. This spot is regarded as peculiarly holy by the Mohammedans, who believe that whoever comes thither in pilgrimage, from pure motives of piety, and enters the tomb seven times, will be sure of paradise. The Sheïkh's festival is celebrated twice a year, with feasting and great demonstrations of joy, multitudes of persons from all parts of Egypt resorting on those occasions to the sacred valley, where they kindle large fires, the marks of which were still recent, and slaughter many animals, whose bones and horns lie scattered about near the ashes. Both the tomb and the space immediately around it are kept extremely clean. When we were about to depart, a boy from the neighbouring village, who appears to be intrusted with the care of the tomb, came to demand something for the Sheïkh, and a present was promised if he would conduct us to the top of the mountain, encircled on all sides by inaccessible cliffs. This, however, he refused to do. We often, perhaps, mistake the motives and character of such men as Sheïkh Haridi. In all countries there are individuals to whom glory and reputation are what power was to Jason of Pharæ, who declared, without a figure of speech, that he was famished for lack of empire. Persons possessed by such ideas cannot exist without fame; and as, in the East, arts, sciences, and literature, the means by which, in Europe, those persons

aim at distinction to whom the paths of political ambition are closed, have no existence, other methods of commanding the attention of mankind are discovered. Diogenes housed his pride in a tub; his master Antisthenes debarred himself of all worldly enjoyments for the gratification of his ambition; and the Sheïkhs of Islamism achieve by similar means a reputation coextensive with the spread of their religion.

DVIII. Finding no guide to conduct us up the mountain, we proceeded to make the attempt without one; and, through our ignorance of the localities, selected a way which, I verily believe, was never trodden before. By dint of perseverance we forced ourselves through narrow fissures in the face of the cliff, crept along the edge of precipices, clinging, like bats, to the honeycombed rock, which, luckily, never crumbled in our grasp; and, mastering the difficulties of the ravines, by leaping, like chamois, from crag to crag, at length succeeded in reaching the practicable slope of the mountain. Like the rocky ridges of the Himalaya, the summits of the Arabian chain are in many parts strewed with rock crystal, which, among the crags of this wild gorge, resembled vast masses of diamonds glittering in the sun; and on proceeding higher we found it more and more abundant at every step, in some places broken and scattered over the valley, in others rising among the barren rocks in perpendicular strata. Though barrenness and aridity every where present themselves,

the desolate landscape is strikingly romantic; the eye passing with delight from chasm to chasm, and from one dizzy precipice to another; while the scream of the eagle of the desert, issuing from its eyry in some distant cliff, sounds no less sweetly to the ear than the softest note of the nightingale among the moonlight woods of southern Italy. I could never comprehend why desert mountains, like this, should be supposed to inspire horror; for their natural effect seems calculated to raise, not depress the spirits. Wherever there is vegetation, some signs of decay, even in the very dawn of spring, as a broken flower, or a withered branch, or the shrivelled discoloured dress of the past summer, will obtrude themselves to sadden the imagination; but amid these naked rocks death finds nought whereon to stretch his hand. Accordingly, they seem to be eternally smiling and serene. All day they are clothed with sunshine as with a garment, which appears to convert the glittering beds of crystal into so many mines of variegated gems.

DIX. From the western edge of the cliffs the view is boundless over the Libyan desert, and the rich valley of the Nile. Having passed in this romantic solitude the greater part of the day, I descended the rocks to the plain, thickly sprinkled with delicate spring flowers, which impregnated the air with perfume. Nearly all the trees of Egypt, — indeed I remember no exceptions, — being evergreens, the transition from winter to spring is not so visible

as in our northern regions, where the woods seem to start suddenly from death to life; yet the change is perceptible in the livelier and fresher green which all nature puts on at the nearer approach of the sun. I know not whether those trees would become deciduous if transplanted to the north; but, even should this be the case, the introduction of the Egyptian sycamore, a hardy and magnificent tree, into England, would add fresh beauty to our splendid forest scenery. When I had returned to the kandjia, the Arabs took to their oars, and rowed hard, in the hope of arriving in the morning at *Siout*. This evening we saw the new moon, whose crescent was peculiarly bright and pointed.

Saturday, Feb. 23. *Sheghalghil.*

DX. We succeeded in reaching *Siout* soon after sunrise; and taking asses on the banks of the river, from which the city is distant about two miles, set out across the plain towards the tombs of the ancient *Lycopolis*, in the Libyan mountains. The whole precipitous face of the rock is perforated with catacombs, rising in long lines, terrace above terrace, to the summit of the lofty cliffs, which here extend several miles along the plain. Our path at first lay through fields of lupins in flower, and beans nearly ready for gathering. After passing the city, lying a little to the right of the road, we proceeded over a broad raised causeway, intended to confine the waters of the *Moyé Soohaj*, at the commencement of the inundation. Two bridges, the first of one arch, the

second of several, conducted us over the scanty remains of the canal. In summer, when the Nile begins to rise, these arches are closed, until all the plain south of Siout has imbibed sufficient moisture; after which they are gradually opened, and the water overflows all the fields included between this causeway and a second; and the process is thus continued until the inundation has covered the whole country.

DXI. On reaching the base of the mountain, we alighted from our beasts, and ascended on foot to the tombs. These vast excavations have very properly obtained the name of "Cities of the Dead." All the population of Egypt, rational and irrational, converted into mummies, might conveniently be laid up here, the catacombs being endless in number, and in many cases of prodigious extent. Originally the greater number, perhaps, were quarries; but in extracting the stones for raising habitations for their living bodies, those prudent people were not unmindful that they must shortly stand in need of another house, to be tenanted for a much longer period. They therefore worked their quarries with this double view. Every block removed made room for a coffin, and two dwellings were formed at once. The first tomb to which our guides conducted us was by far the finest and most interesting. Innumerable small receptacles for coffins and wolf mummy chests, honeycombed the rock on all sides; and numerous sloping passages, now obstructed, appear to have led far below into the bowels of the earth. The first chamber

of this magnificent sepulchre, which exceeds, in the dimensions of the apartments, the Tombs of the Kings, is a lofty square saloon, whose side walls and roof have been nearly destroyed. This is succeeded by an arched apartment, about forty feet in length, thirty in width, and thirty-five in height; the entrance to which is surrounded by a large moulding. Paintings and hieroglyphics, greatly faded by time, cover the walls. From this chamber we pass by a lofty doorway, with the figure of a god bearing a long staff or wand sculptured on either side, into a dark saloon, at least sixty feet in length, and much loftier than the preceding. Three spacious entrances at its farther extremity lead into an equal number of apartments, running parallel with each other. Advancing through the central corridor, cut in the form of an arch, we arrived at a narrow transverse chamber, from either extremity of which a large dark passage branches off. About the roof of the gloomy excavation on the left, we heard the flapping and rustling of innumerable wings, intermingled with sharp piercing cries, as of animals in torture; and, when lights had been kindled, saw clouds of vampire bats, with black indented wings, darting to and fro, with screams of terror, along the dusky ceiling. At the report of the fowling-piece, which brought down two of their number, a vast column, clinging to each other, precipitated themselves towards the doorway leading to the external chambers, clamouring and shrieking as they flew. Those we killed, though they had appeared so large when living, measured little more

than two feet from the tip of one wing to the other; trifling dimensions compared with those of the vampyre bats, which, in India, haunt the shady branches of the banian-tree, or sail in the twilight about the old pagodas; and which, if known to the Romans, may have furnished Virgil with his idea of the Harpies that terrified and half poisoned the Trojans with their piercing cries, and the stench they left behind them:—

> " At subitæ horrifico lapsu de montibus adsunt
> Harpyiæ, et magnis quatiunt clangoribus alas,
> Diripiuntque dapes, contactuque omnia fœdant
> Immundo; tùm vox tetrum dira inter odorem."*

DXII. Toward the extremity of this spacious corridor, is a narrow niche in the southern wall, containing a pit like the well of the Great Pyramid. Casting in a stone for the purpose of ascertaining its depth, we heard it rolling, first in one direction, then in another, until the noise became faint through distance, like the reverberations of an echo dying away among the mountains; so that, apparently, the excavation has been carried down in a zigzag manner to a prodigious depth.. The natives, in their way of speaking, pronounce it to be without bottom; and relate a story of an Arab, who, descending by a rope, in search of a traveller's dog, to a great depth, at length despaired of success and returned, though several dollars were offered for the recovery of the

* Æneid. l. iii. v. 225. et seqq.

animal; a sum which would tempt an Arab to hazard his life in a thousand ways. Into this pit we were desirous of making a descent, but our guides having come unprovided with ropes, the procuring of which from Siout would have occasioned great delay, we proceeded with the examination of the other hypogea. Some of these, as I have already observed, are immense quarries, extending very far into the mountains, containing huge rock pillars, and divided into numerous apartments; while others are entirely open, and as large as Westminster Hall, though nearly filled up with rubbish. In many, the pillars have been broken away, fragments of the shafts only being left; in others we found long dark passages, leading through the heart of the rock from one suite of chambers to another; square apertures letting down light from the terraces above; pits excavated in the floor; niches, recesses, chapels; winding, sloping, narrow corridors, intersecting each other, branching in various directions, confounding all recollection of the localities, and apparently rendering a return to the light doubtful. Numbers of these galleries are now choked up with fallen rocks, and others are so much straitened that we forced our way through them with great difficulty. From the lofty terraces extending along the face of the mountain, in front of the excavations, we commanded a magnificent view of the plain of *Siout*, equalling that of *Abydos* in riches and fertility, and greatly surpassing that of Thebes. The component parts of the landscape, however, were nearly the same: cornfields, scattered

woods, cities and villages, a mighty river, with ranges of rocky, precipitous, barren mountains, extending like huge fortifications round the plain, and closing the view on all sides.

DXIII. To the gazelles, which are extremely numerous in the deserts west of *Siout*, the tombs of the Egyptians now furnish a retreat during the night, for, where the floor was strewed with sand, I observed their tracks and lairs. From the catacombs we descended to the plain, where a fine wide road, level as a gravel walk, leads along the foot of the mountains towards the capital, of whose extent and general appearance we could form a tolerably just idea from the mouth of the tombs above. It is a place of considerable extent, nearly circular, and surrounded by spacious gardens. The houses are neat and well-built, and the streets much cleaner than ordinary. In all oriental cities we may form an estimate of the condition of the inhabitants, approximating very nearly to the truth, by carefully observing the shops and the bazār, with the appearance of the persons who frequent them or expose their merchandise there. The bazār of Siout is large, and tolerably well supplied with the ordinary articles of food and clothing. It was, moreover, well frequented, and men and women trod, in many places, so closely on each other's heels, that more than one fine lady, as in the story of *Ardashir*, seemed likely to lose her slippers in the crowd. Among the vegetables of the season, we observed very excellent beans and cauli-

flowers; and the earliest fruit of the year was the *nebk*, or *lotus*, which is produced in great abundance in the gardens of Siout. The *Rhamnus lotus* is a large beautiful tree, with a small dark green leaf, like that of the olive. Its fruit, of a slightly yellow, or pale straw-colour, with a few small streaks of red on the sunny side, resembles an unripe cherry, though inferior in taste, and much less juicy, having somewhat the flavour of an insipid apple; though by care and cultivation it might, perhaps, be rendered a fine fruit. This has been supposed to be the marvellous lotus described by Homer: —

> " Which whoso tastes
> Insatiate riots in the sweet repast,
> Nor other home, nor other care intends,
> But quits his house, his country, and his friends !"

But the lotus, whose taste could make a man forget his home, — it must be a strange fruit that could do this — unquestionably possessed properties extremely different from those we ate at Siout, and, if it was anything beyond a mere poetical creation, may have been the *padma*, that mystic flower which acts so conspicuous a part in the mythologies of India and Egypt.

DXIV. At a village near this city, the greater number, if not the whole, of the eunuchs employed in the harems of Egypt are made. But an account of this operation belongs rather to a medical or physiological treatise than to a book of travels; for which reason I

abstain from touching on the subject. The barber, always a prominent character in oriental stories, is still a personage of some consequence in the East, where he is regarded as the gazette and oracle of his quarter. All the strange turns of fortune, and traits of scandal, which agitate the neighbourhood, being chronicled in his memory, his shop is the constant refuge of the idle. While sitting in one of these manufactories of fame, at *Siout*, the numerous tales where the tonsorial profession make a figure, were forcibly called to mind. It consisted of a small quadrangular apartment, with unglazed windows, fashioned like those of a Gothic church; and was surrounded by a clay divan, covered with mats, on which the customers range themselves, while the barber operates on the heads of their neighbours, and circulates the news and anecdotes of the vicinity. The walls were covered with the various professional instruments, and those circular hand-mirrors, in which the shaved man is shown his head and his beard. In dress the barber is distinguished from the vulgar, his outer garment usually consisting of gay silks; while, for greater effect, he preserves the ancient costume, with the large turban abandoned by the multitude.

DXV. On leaving the city we entered upon the northern portion of the plain, and having ordered our boats to drop down the river to a certain point, we had before us a long ride. It was a beautiful rural scene. Dispersed at short intervals over the fields, were groups of cattle lying down or feeding among

the clover; flocks of sheep or goats; shepherd boys beside them, playing on the ancient pipe; numbers of peasants of both sexes sitting on the ground, and here and there an Arab girl, with a sling and small stones, chasing away the birds from among the corn. Men mounted on camels were lazily travelling along the road, and in the numerous date woods, the peasants appeared to be engaged in scattering the pollen of the male over the flowers of the female palm. In this laborious branch of Egyptian husbandry, women seem to be employed as well as men, for in riding along, we saw a young girl of sixteen or seventeen descending the trunk of a date-tree, which, at this season of the year, she could have had no other object for climbing. Here we saw the last specimen of the doum palm, which, apparently, will not flourish farther to the northward. Having overtaken our boats, we continued our voyage until evening, when we moored at *Sheghalghil*, a village on the eastern bank, near *Manfaloot*.

CHAPTER VI.

SHEGHALGHIL—CROCODILE MUMMY-PITS—SICK SHEÏKH EL BELED—VILLAGE OF MAABDÉ — GUIDES TO THE CROCODILE PITS — DREAD OF THE NATIVES — WANDER IN THE DESERT — DISCOVERY OF THE CAVERN — DESCENT INTO THE PIT — MEPHITIC VAPOUR — FAIL IN OUR ATTEMPT TO PENETRATE INTO THE INTERIOR — RETURN TO THE RIVER — COPTIC CONVENT — ARE FOLLOWED BY TWO ARABS — SAIL BACK TO MANFALOOT — SECOND VISIT TO THE MUMMY-PITS — DISCOVER THE ENTRANCE INTO THE INTERIOR — DESCRIPTION OF THE CAVERN — THE AUTHOR OVERCOME BY THE MEPHITIC VAPOUR — SUCCESS OF HIS COMPANIONS — THEY REACH THE CROCODILES — APPEARANCE AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE MUMMIES — BLACK STALACTITES — RETURN TO UPPER AIR WITH SEVERAL CROCODILES — SECOND DESCENT OF THE GUIDES — MUMMY OF A RED-HAIRED GIRL — ABANDONED IN THE DESERT — CROCODILE MUMMY — MUTILATED ARABS — AVERSION TO THE ARMY — MISERY OF THE WOMEN AND CHILDREN — PLAIN OF MAABDÉ — ELEPHANTIASIS — TOMB OF SHEÏKH SAID — OFFERING OF THE MARINERS — MOUNTAIN OF THE BATTLE — THE SOUTH WIND — APOLOGUE — DIVISION OF LABOUR — MULTITUDE OF SLAVES — OBSTACLE TO CIVILISATION — SUBMERGING OF BOATS ON THE NILE — BENISOOEF — TURKISH SOLDIERS — APPROACH TO CAIRO — RUINS OF BABYLON — ARRIVAL AT BOOLAK.

Sunday, Feb. 24. *Manfaloot.*

DXVI. In this neighbourhood, among the mountains above *Maabdé*, are those crocodile mummy-pits, in an unsuccessful attempt to explore which Mr. Legh, in 1812, lost two of his guides, and where, through want of due precaution, I was myself on the eve of sharing the same fate. All that we had heard

of their extraordinary dimensions and wonderful conformation, of the dismal chasms they contain, and of the mephitic vapours and fatal effluvia which were said to interpose an impassable barrier between the traveller and the penetralia of the sacred crocodiles, had powerfully excited our curiosity. Landing, therefore, early in the morning, we proceeded to the village in search of guides and asses. The wife and son of the *Sheïkh el Beled*, agreeably to their persuasion that all Europeans are physicians, had been already at our boats, requesting that we would go and see the Sheïkh, whom they described as labouring under some violent disease. Though ignorant of medicine, and determined, for this reason, to sport with no man's chances of recovery, we nevertheless, to oblige those poor people, who appeared to imagine it was in our power to do good, accompanied them to their house, and on the way saw many proofs of the filth and misery in which they live. Passing through a number of dirty courts and alleys, we were at length conducted to the room where the sick man lay, extended on a bed upon the ground. I attempted to enter, but the chamber was so close, and the smell so exceedingly offensive, that I found it impossible to remain. The nature of the disease, however, could not be mistaken, being a rapid consumption of the lungs, which had already reached the last stage. We advised the best means we knew for allaying his sufferings; and, as he seemed to be amused by conversing on business, which afforded him a momentary respite from the thoughts of death, requested he

would order some of his people to furnish us with asses. This he immediately did, at the same time fixing a price, with which the owners of the beasts appeared to be content. Instead, however, of bringing the animals, they waited for us outside of the village, demanding six times the sum agreed on with the Sheïkh. The poor man being ill, and unable to enforce the execution of his orders, we abstained from troubling him any further, and walked away; upon which the villagers lowered their demands, but, to punish them for attempting imposition, we refused to treat with them any further.

DXVII. Crossing the plain from *Sheghalghil* to *Maabdé*, we found that the natives, as in the case of Sir Frederic Henniker, denied all knowledge of the dreaded mummy-pits, observing that the only two persons who could have conducted us thither were absent at *Manfaloot*, where it was market-day. They, moreover, added that several Arabs having perished in the pits, no person would now venture thither, and appeared to be afraid even to converse upon the subject. But their ignorance, as we suspected, was feigned; for, upon our repeated assurances that we would not require them to enter, but merely to show us the mouth of the cavern, several men consented to become our guides, though their wives, dreading lest they should be tempted by the offer of a reward to hazard the descent, crowded round, conjuring them to remain. The husbands, who had no intention of going beyond their agreement, endeavoured to silence

their fears; but the poor creatures, not relying on these promises, still followed at a distance, with their children in their arms. Being unable, however, to keep pace with us, in climbing the rocks, we quickly lost sight of them. Of our several guides, one carried a large rope, by which we might let ourselves down into the pit, another a jar of water, a third a long pole. When we had reached the level summit of the mountain, where crystal, to borrow Henniker's expression, grows like grass, it quickly appeared, either that our guides knew not the entrance to the cave, or were determined not to point it out. In real or pretended search of it they dispersed themselves on all sides; while we, misled by the descriptions of former travellers, struck off into a deep rocky valley, which, in the season of the rains, conveys the waters of the sudden floods into the desert. We had already entered upon that season of the year, when the ardour of the sun's rays is extremely powerful in Upper Egypt, particularly in such hollows as this, surrounded on all sides by rocks, which, imbibing and reflecting the heat, convert them into so many ovens. From our experience of the taste of the Egyptians, it seemed extremely probable that we should here find the pits; and, therefore, notwithstanding the heat, continued to follow the windings of the valley, at the bottom of which we observed several bitter plants, in shape not unlike samphire, growing amid the scorching sand. Numerous lateral gorges branched off to the right and left, containing caverns, which, from the recent footmarks in the sand, and the bones scat-

tered about the openings, must, doubtless, be the dens of wild beasts. Through the principal valley, as we judged from their tracks, the gazelles usually pass in great numbers on their way from the desert to the river, to which they are compelled by thirst to descend nightly.

DXVIII. After pursuing our course for several miles, until we found the hills sinking gradually to the level of the desert, we despaired of success in that direction, and retraced our footsteps. All the Arabs, excepting one, had now quitted us; but, on drawing near the entrance to the valley, we perceived another of the party, perched upon a height, coolly awaiting our return. He had discovered the mouth of the pit, and in about half an hour conducted us to it. Our first inquiry, however, as we had for several hours been tortured with thirst, was respecting the bardak; but we found that the guides, having drunk nearly all the water, had removed, and sat down on the rocks at a distance, leaving the almost empty jar by the mouth of the cavern. The entrance, which proved to be very inferior in depth and dimensions to what we had expected, is a triangular hole, in shape something resembling a crocodile's head, and may be about six or seven feet in length, by four in breadth, where widest. The depth, probably, does not exceed fourteen or sixteen feet. Impatient to visit the interior, I at once placed my hands on the sides of the pit, and leaped down; Suleiman and Monro followed; and one of the Arabs, observing us

receive no detriment from the descent, likewise ventured in; so that our party now consisted of four. The effluvia issuing from the interior, however, exceeded in nauseousness all the disgusting smells to which I had ever been exposed. Men have been known to faint at the stench of a dissecting room; but the smell of a dead body, in the worst state of decomposition, is sweet compared with the odious vapour which here made the very gorge rise.

DXIX. Our tapers being lighted, we first groped our way through a low narrow passage on the right, gradually lessening as we advanced, and at length terminating abruptly. It was therefore necessary to return. On again coming back to the mouth, we discovered, on the left, a very low, but much broader entrance, through which we next advanced, and after creeping along for ten or twelve yards, found ourselves in a spacious but not lofty chamber, with innumerable black stalactites depending from the roof. The Arab who accompanied us, having never entered before, was no better acquainted than ourselves with the secrets of the place. It was necessary to try every opening and fissure in the rock. Close to a very narrow and low passage, there was a square hole, like a window, much too small for Monro to enter; but it seemed possible that I, being considerably slighter, might force my way through, feet foremost; after thrusting in my legs, however, I found that my body would not follow. We next tried the passage; but this, after many turnings and windings, terminated

in a small cleft in the rock, through which nothing but a serpent or a bat could pass. Again, therefore, we were forced back to the large chamber, where we sought in vain for any other hole or passage; so that, after continuing the scrutiny for an hour or more, we despaired of success, and returned to upper air. The Arabs, whom we found clustered about the mouth of the cave, seemed, I think, pleased at our disappointment; and by their subsequent refusal to show us the nearest path to the boats, which were moored near the mountains to the north of the plain of *Maabdé*, they gave us reason to suspect that they had purposely misled us, from motives known only to themselves. The poor man who descended into the cave, whose legs exhibited symptoms of incipient elephantiasis, still remained with our party; the others, without asking for a present, left us abruptly to find our way how we pleased, and made towards their village.

DXX. Following a small sheep-track, leading towards the edge of the cliffs, we discovered a break in the rocks, through which we descended to the plain. In the face of the mountain are several grottoes, once, perhaps, the abode of christian hermits; and in a very perilous situation beneath a projecting crag, stands a Coptic convent of sun-dried bricks, with many windows, now containing no monks; but on a certain day of the year, probably the anniversary of some Coptic saint, all the christians of the neighbourhood repair to this convent, where they pass the day in feasting and rejoicing. On reaching the kandjias,

we paid our guide, and began to proceed down the river; but in less than half an hour, two Arabs were seen running along the shore, shouting loudly to us to stop. The boats being accordingly ordered near the shore, they were taken on board, and proved to be the guides to the crocodile mummy-pits, who hearing, on their return from *Manfaloot*, of our unsuccessful expedition, had followed us to offer their services. They professed to be perfectly acquainted with the place, and promised, if we would remain until next day, to conduct us where we should find the crocodiles; for it was now evening, and we had been toiling during at least ten hours in the sun. As they seemed to speak with complete confidence, we resolved to give them a trial; and putting about, hoisted sail, and returned up the river to *Manfaloot*. This was an extremely windy day; heavy clouds, towards evening, covered the whole atmosphere; and the sun set under a blood-red canopy.

Monday, Feb. 25. *On the Nile.*

DXXI. On descending to that part of the bank where our guides had engaged to attend us, we found them waiting; not two, however, but thirteen, all of whom had been attracted by the hope of a present. Upon inquiry we found it was the favourable report of the poor Arab who had accompanied us on the preceding day, whose infirmity rendered him an object of charity, that had sent all these guides in search of us. An old man, with a white beard, who seemed to be the Sheïkh of the party, said he had

known the pits from his youth, and would bring us where we should find crocodile mummies of all sizes. We therefore desired them to proceed, being impatient to discover whether he would conduct us to the cavern we had visited on the preceding day; and, if so, in what way we could possibly enter. The point was soon settled. They took us to the same pit; and while we were undressing, and lighting our candles, those who were to enter betook themselves to prayer, as persons about to plunge into desperate peril. I again descended before the others, and as the smell seemed less disgusting than on the day before, did not in the least doubt being able to withstand the malaria, or mephitic vapour, whatever it might be. When the Arabs had prayed, and stripped themselves nearly naked, we took each a taper in our hands, and began to move forwards. The old man, his son, and two other Arabs, led the way; my servant and I followed; and Monro came close after me, with a guide who was to show the way back, if we should find it impossible to proceed. Having reached the large chamber, where we had wasted so much time on the preceding day, the old guide turned to the right, and crept forward through a small hole, the mouth of which was concealed by a projecting rock. We all followed in the order we had observed in entering, and after proceeding about twenty yards, arrived in the large natural chamber described by Legh and Henniker, the latter of whom advanced no further. Continuing to push forward, we entered a portion of the cavern resembling the mouth of hell;

enormous rocks huddled together forming the floor, where chasms of unknown depth yawned between the dark masses, while prodigious black stalactites, with shining spars of crystal glittering between them, hung like dead snakes from the roof, and composed a kind of fretwork round the sides. Everything wore the fuliginous appearance of a place which had been the seat of some durable conflagration; black as night, covered with soot, oily, slippery, and exhaling a stench unutterably disgusting. Bats without number hung from the roof, or flew against our faces, from the countless holes and narrow diverging passages of the cavern; some striking against the rocks and falling senseless to the ground, where we trod or pressed upon them with our hands—for there was no time to be nice in picking our way. At length they began to cling about my neck, and bite my hands; and several times extinguished my taper; but this was merely disagreeable. By degrees, however, the passage grew low and narrow, so that it became necessary to creep forward on hands and knees, with our heads very low, that they might not strike against the rocks. This position I soon found extremely painful. The heat likewise appeared to be insufferable, and the perspiration streamed from our bodies like rain. My companions, according to the advice of the principal guide, had stripped nearly to the skin; but, trusting to my capacity for enduring heat, I had slighted his counsel, and now suffered the penalty of my imprudence. Still, however, I continued in the track of the guide; but having advanced about three or four

hundred yards, I felt the blood rush to my head, and experienced great sickness and faintness, accompanied by an extraordinary oppression of the lungs, greatly augmented by the odour of putrid corpses which issued from the extremities of the cave, and appeared to increase every moment. For this effect I never could fully account. In all the tombs, and caverns, and mummy-pits which we had hitherto entered, I had seemed to suffer less than any one; and could remain in them whole hours without inconvenience; but now the case was different. In a short time my head grew dizzy, and the cavern seemed to reel and swim round. Supposing I was about to faint, in which case recovery would have been next to impossible, I requested Monro, who seemed to experience nothing of the kind, to endeavour to pass me, which the narrowness of the passage rendered nearly impracticable, and ordered the Arab in the rear to lead the way back. Monro and Suleiman proceeded. When I had regained that part of the passage where it was possible to stand upright, the fulness and dizziness in the head abated; but my eyes seemed to have grown dim, and I fancied we had lost our way. The guide, who evidently shared my suspicion, paused and surveyed the various openings with terror, while his trembling hands could scarcely hold the taper. The cavern, in fact, appeared to have enlarged, the passages to have grown more numerous, and the stench and blackness more infernal. I crept along with the utmost difficulty, the bats flitting before, or striking against me; and looked with intense longing

for the appearance of light and the smell of fresh air. A draught of water might, perhaps, have revived me; but the guides had neglected to bring any into the cavern, and to this circumstance I, probably, owe my extreme disappointment, and might have owed something worse. As the way appeared so much longer than it had in entering, the suspicion frequently recurred that we had missed it; but at length I discerned a glimmering of light, and felt the rushing in of the external air, which now seemed perfumed, though, on my first descending, I had thought it execrable. On arriving at the entrance, the Arab flung himself with a groan upon the ground; and I, completely exhausted and overcome, sat below upon the rock in a kind of dream, unable to climb the rocky ascent to the plain.

DXXII. At the expiration of about half an hour I heard my servant's voice, exclaiming, — "Oh, Mr. Monro, we are in paradise!" — They all came out covered with dirt and perspiration, the Arabs bringing along with them the mummies of two crocodiles. For the description of what they saw after they left me, I am indebted to Monro. Another fissure, like the former, he observes, now received us, the sides being formed of large dusky-looking crystal stalactites, some of which were a foot, or even more in diameter. It became wider as we advanced, and terminated in a lofty vaulted hall, apparently oblong, extending to the right and left; the bottom was covered with large pieces of rock, over which we

made our way as we best could. Suleiman directed me to look down between two of these into a pit, which, he said, was bottomless; but on thrusting in the candle, I found it to be about seven or eight feet deep. What may have been the extent of this salon to the left, I am unable to state, my only care being to retain breath and strength enough to reach the mummies; and our lights were insufficient to show the end of it as we passed. Our route now lay to the right, through a contracted aperture, which we traversed sideways, our bodies nearly horizontal, the rocks and the roof being in close contact, and presenting, as it were, a concave and convex surface, corresponding with each other. Beyond was a small natural cavity, formed, like the others, of dark coloured stalactites; out of this we turned short to the right, apparently in a direction towards the mouth of the cavern, and descended through a naturally formed window to a lower level. Here the *Hajji* proposed that we should remain, while the guides went forwards for the crocodiles. The heat was considerable, and the atmosphere unpleasant, but not suffocating; I was still well, and though I advised him to return, if it seemed necessary, it was my intention to proceed, while I might do so with prudence; he said no more, but went forward. The rest of our course was made almost entirely in a crawling position, the passage being a natural fissure closely hemmed in by stalactites, and in places very low, sometimes running in a serpentine line, and at others turning at right angles. After advancing

a short time, I fixed my hand upon a round irregular substance: it was a human face; the chest and body were beneath my arm.* There was no time to examine it, nor indeed for any reflection, beyond the "omnes eodem cogimur," which would occur to every one; I passed on. Not far beyond this, the old Arab stopped, and laying his hand upon another human head, pointed it out as a sort of landmark that served for his guidance in this subterranean navigation. The head and shoulders only were exposed, the rest of the body being concealed beneath an impending and projecting rock. Round this we turned short to the left.

DXXIII. Soon after, the passage became lower than ever, and we were reduced to the attitude and condition of snakes. The heat had considerably increased, and the air became more noisome. The stalactites were now of a jet black colour, and shone like pitch, and in the recesses formed by them were numerous human bodies; and some also were scattered in the track over which we crawled. Even the bats had not penetrated thus far into this loathsome dungeon; and though it was some relief to have escaped from their importunities, it was a warning index that the air was unfit for animal existence.

* I have since regretted that I did not endeavour to ascertain whether this was a mummy that had been stripped, or the body of some one who had suffered in attempting to reach the interior of the cavern. From the distance at which it was lying from the general cemetery, the latter might possibly be the case.

Here, for the first time, I felt a slightly oppressive fulness upon my chest; and that I might feed scantily upon the noxious vapour, I breathed as lightly and seldom as possible; the inconvenience was of short duration. The aperture enlarged, and we passed into a long and comparatively lofty cavern, where the air, though of the same quality, was more plentiful, and I found immediate relief. We had now reached the end of our wanderings; this was the mysterious depository of the crocodiles. It was an irregular fissure, of about thirty feet long from end to end, and eight feet across in the widest part; the height varied in different places. The pendent stalactites were of a shining jet black, and, when the candle was applied to them, burned and smoked like pitch; being thickly encrusted with a bituminous deposit, engendered, perhaps, by the mephitic vapour, which had reigned here for centuries. Immediately opposite the entrance, which was near one end, lay a promiscuous heap of palm leaves, mummy rags, and human bodies. It was a scene which even the guides as well as ourselves mused upon for a few moments in silence. Proceeding to the farther extremity, my attention was directed to a series of apparently small mummies, packed close together, and placed nearly vertically. Supposing them to be little children, I inquired of the guides; but was informed that these were the crocodiles, of which the upper part only was visible. When they had selected five, and extricated them from the mass, Sulieman, who had been silent for some time, observed that he felt his head swimming,

and was unable to see; when I perceived that his eyes were closed, and that his head had fallen on one side. Immediately rousing him from his stupor, I ordered a retreat, which was effected slowly, and with difficulty, as the guides were now encumbered with three of the mummies.

DXXIV. When the old Arab and his companions had breathed the fresh air for a short time, they again prepared to descend into the cave, in search of the crocodiles which had been left behind. They also offered to bring me, if I pleased, a human mummy; the Egyptians having in this cemetery, mingled together the bodies of gods and mortals. This time they appeared to be absent much longer than before; but returned at length, dragging out along with them two more crocodiles, together with the mummy of a red-haired girl *, about ten or twelve years old. It was nearly naked, the flesh had shrunk almost to nothing, the skin was shrivelled, and as black as the pitchy rocks within, the head turned loosely and trembled on the withered neck, the chest and abdomen were pitted in, the lips drawn hard over the teeth — ghastly, disgusting, horrible, like death. —I refused to take it away, and the Arabs laid it down upon the desert, where, if they will devour a mummy, it soon became the prey of the famished

* Red-haired persons were sacrificed by the ancient Egyptians to Osiris. Perhaps the victims, having been immolated as the representatives of Typhon, were regarded as sacred, and buried among the gods.

and voracious hyænas. Though the crocodile was regarded as a god by the Egyptians, his body was less carefully preserved than their own. Neither coffin nor sarcophagus enclosed the corpse, which having been embalmed, was first packed in palm leaves, disposed lengthwise along the body, and bound round with cord, formed, like that in use at present, of the leaf of the palm tree. The whole was then enveloped, like the human mummy, in linen bandages, sewn together with twine, and secured with broad tape. The entrails, separately embalmed, and strung together in small bundles, were placed in the palm leaves beside the body. Two small oblong packets, placed over the empty sockets, seem to have contained the eyes; but these we did not open.

DXXV. We now ordered the Arabs to take up the crocodiles, and departed. It was a singular cavalcade; for the bearers, with their dusky and half naked bodies, appeared themselves like so many mummies, condemned for their sins to walk the earth, with their gods upon their heads. Of all these thirteen men, every one, I believe, except the old Sheïkh, had the fore-finger of the right hand cut off; the stumps of some, recently amputated, being still red and swollen. This horrid practice, resorted to in order to escape the army, must not be taken as a proof of cowardice in the Arabs. Like all other rational people, they prefer peace to war; but their principal objection to the Pasha's service, they say, arises from the disingenuous contrivances resorted to

by the government to cheat them out of their miserable pay. Perhaps they know that money sufficient to enable the Pasha honestly to discharge his debts towards them, does not exist in the country; but this knowledge will not blunt the feelings of the heart, when they see the wives and children from whom they are forced away, condemned to poverty and want, or driven to support a wretched existence with the wages of humiliation and vice. Numbers of young wives thus abandoned, are compelled by starvation, or, to prevent their infant children from perishing, to join the almé, all whose profligate habits they must soon acquire. Such of their husbands, therefore, as live to return from the army, will, in many cases, find the wives and daughters, whom they, perhaps, loved and cherished, irremediably lost: many families are thus entirely broken up. For, not content with seizing on part of the men, they frequently take all fit for military service. Such are the grounds of their disgust for the army. That they are all interested in emancipating the country from the Ottoman yoke, seems beyond a doubt; but this they cannot, perhaps, comprehend, or, if they do, the pressure of present evils forces them, in spite of this conviction, to curse the Pasha, and his wars.

DXXVI. A great portion of the plain of Maabdé, the finest grassy flat which I had beheld for many years, resembled a bowling green in smoothness, reminding me of Lords' cricket ground; and numerous bright flowers, such as the white poppy, the daisy,

and a small delicate convolvulus, were growing among the short soft grass. The sky-lark, the bee, the grasshopper, were busily celebrating the return of spring. One of the Arabs, as I have already observed, was afflicted with incipient elephantiasis; and a bull, which came down to drink at the river, seemed to be attacked in one of his fore legs by the same disorder. Having embarked the crocodiles, and dismissed the guides, we recommenced our voyage, and during the night lost sight of Monro's kandjia.

Tuesday, Feb. 26. *Abou Aziz.*

DXXVII. The wind, though still contrary, not blowing very high, we descended rapidly all day, and in the course of the morning passed the tomb of Sheïkh Said, where I landed, and visited the building, which, though peculiarly holy, has nothing remarkable in its appearance. The servant of the Sheïkh, who keeps the tomb clean, and receives the offerings of the traveller, made no objection to my entering; but I did not proceed beyond the threshold, the whole of the interior being from thence visible. There was, as usual, a small chest, neat mats on the floor, and two or three miniature boats suspended from the roof. The saint here interred is held in peculiar veneration by the mariners of the Nile, who, when no servant happens to be present, cast a little bread into the river for Sheïkh Said. Long before sunset we came in sight of Gebel Mahazi, or the "Mountain of the Battle," — so called on account of a celebrated victory gained near the spot during the conquest of

Egypt by the Arabs. This is the most southern point of the "Bird Mountain," which we passed in ascending the river, on the 26th of December, exactly two months ago. Shortly after sunset, which on this day was singularly beautiful, and covered the rocks and the river with crimson, we arrived at Minieh, where we moored, in order to allow Ali, one of my boat's crew, time to pay a visit to his mother, who lived there. Though married and very indigent, the poor fellow had contrived, perhaps by stinting himself of the necessaries of life during the voyage, to save up a few piastres, which he carried her: on his return we again set forward. For the first time, since the day of our leaving *Wady Halfa*, the wind this evening veered round to the south, bringing along with it a sensible change in the temperature of the atmosphere, which, from being at night sharp and cool, now became heated and oppressive *; and about twelve o'clock the gale increased to a storm, so that the Arabs, overcome by sleep and toil, applied for permission to moor, until morning, near the village of *Abou Aziz*.

Wednesday, Feb. 27. *On the Nile.*

DXXVIII. Soon after sunrise, Monro's kandjia, which had been sailing all night, was discovered a

* The sultry character of the south wind is alluded to in the book of Job. "How thy garments are warm, when he quieteth the earth by the south wind?" Chap. xxxvii. ver. 17. It is rather remarkable, that during the prevalence of the *scirocco*, or south wind, the atmosphere, in the Mediterranean, and on the coasts of Northern Africa, is almost invariably charged with clouds; whereas, when it blows from the north, the air is generally clear. This fact also is noted in Job: — "Fair weather cometh out of the north." — ver. 22.

little in the rear; and the wind still continuing fair, we immediately quitted our moorings, in the hope of reaching *Benisooëf* in the course of the day. It has, I believe, been observed, by some of our older travellers, that the Orientals, of every rank, entertain a sort of superstitious veneration for bread; at least this is the case with the Egyptian Arabs, who have a remarkable aversion to allow, on any occasion, a crumb to fall to the ground, — affirming that such an act of wastefulness, persevered in, might ruin a man's fortunes. This notion, in their usual way, they illustrate by a story, which, though in some degree bordering on the ludicrous, I will request the reader's permission to relate. — There were formerly, they say, in Cairo, two merchants, who having lived, during many years, in the strictest intimacy, had at length conceived so strong an affection for each other, that between them even the thoughts and wishes of the mind had become common property. One of these friends, finding his wealth increase beyond his desires, and apprehending, like the Pagans of antiquity, some sudden and terrible reverse from the envy of fortune, consulted the other concerning the means to be adopted to reduce within the limits of moderation his oppressive riches. Charity, perhaps, and the exercise of private munificence, may not have presented themselves to the imagination of the merchant; to the grave inquiries of his friend he, therefore, replied: — "Eat toasted bread as you walk along the public road!" So sage a piece of advice was not to be neglected; but, in pursuance of those eco-

nomical habits, of which his great wealth was the fruit, Dives suspended a napkin under his chin, to catch the falling crumbs. Fortune smiled at this device for diminishing the current of her favours, and, instead of half way meeting his wishes, by abating the flood, or turning it into some other channel, opened still wider the sluices of opulence, and overwhelmed him beneath the magnitude of his treasures. The neighbour was again consulted: "Have you eaten toasted bread?" inquired he: his friend replied in the affirmative: "And have you," continued the counseller, "suffered the crumbs to fall to the ground?" — "No," answered the rich man, "I caught them in a napkin, and ate them." — "That," observed his friend, "totally alters the case; had you allowed them to be lost, your good fortune would have forsaken you for ever!"

DXXIX. In Egypt, as in India, the division of labour, in the establishment of an opulent man, is exceedingly minute; it being, for example, the business of one domestic to take care of the tobacco, of another to fill the pipe, of a third to make coffee, &c., while no one interferes with the duties of another. This is a principal cause of the great number of slaves employed in families, and may also be one reason why those slaves, in general, are little to be pitied; in comparison, at least, with the peasant, whose hard labour maintains both master and slave. One chief means, however, of civilising Egypt, would be the abolishing of slavery; for then the natives

would necessarily be employed in domestic offices about the rich, and coming into immediate contact with them, would gradually receive a tincture of whatever knowledge or politeness they might possess. No eunuchs, moreover, could be made; and the practice of supporting numerous harems, — a practice inimical to refinement and morality, — depending on the existence of eunuchs, must consequently fall into disuse; and this circumstance alone would relieve Egypt from an oppressive burden, since it is chiefly to supply the luxuries of the harem that pashas and governors pillage and devastate the country. Denied the privilege of importing foreign women like cattle, the rich would be constrained to marry the daughters of their neighbours: the social body would thus be more closely united; and that free intercourse between the citizens, without which civilisation is impossible, would in time form a part of their manners. For, with the downfall of polygamy, which could not long survive the destruction of domestic slavery, the seclusion of women must cease; and if women are to be admitted into society, they must be previously instructed; I mean, where the men themselves are so; for that the sexes may mingle under the canopy of ignorance, age after age, without deriving from this freedom of intercourse either refinement or knowledge, is abundantly evident from the history of mankind. Every step made by Mohammed Ali towards this end, will consolidate his power, and render him so much the nearer to absolute independence; while an

adherence to the contrary system, which has maintained despotism and ignorance throughout the East for so many thousand years, may indeed cause him to be more admired by Turks, and persons equally depraved and degraded, but must inevitably expose him to the contempt of statesmen and politicians, who know that nations are powerful and flourishing in proportion as they are civilised.

DXXX. The wind still continuing to blow strongly from the south, — causing the atmosphere to assume a thick and hazy appearance, — we descended the river with extraordinary rapidity. But these violent sciroccos, so favourable to those descending the stream, are often fatal to kandjias proceeding in a contrary direction, or making from one bank to another; an example of which I observed this morning, on the eastern shore, where a beautiful barge, belonging to Ahmed Pasha, governor of the Hejaz, lay stranded, and partly sunk. During the prevalence of high winds, from whatever point they may blow, the appearance of the low sedgy islands and shores of the Nile is most remarkable; the fine sand, raised aloft, and driven along their level surface in continuous clouds, being drifted down over the steep banks into the water like snow; while thousands of wild ducks, herons, pelicans, and milk-white ibises, standing in long lines on the sharp points of promontories, or rising in vast flights into the air, seem to be reconnoitring the solitary boat, which shoots down the current like an arrow. Arriving early in the

afternoon at Benisooëf, where it was our intention to quit the boats, and proceed along the banks of the Bahr Youssouff into the Fayoom, I immediately landed, to make inquiries respecting dromedaries or horses for the journey; and to stroll, according to custom, about the bazār, which I found crowded with Turkish soldiers, just returned from Mekka, and Arabs from different parts of the Hejaz, distinguished from the Fellahs by their gay costume and Wahabi head-dress, consisting of the red felt cap and blue tassel, with a bright plaid silk handkerchief twisted about it like a turban. Coming from Nubia and Upper Egypt, I almost thought the natives of Benisooëf fair; and many of the Almé, who sought to tempt the eye by their naked faces and bosoms, appeared, by contrast with the women I had seen, absolutely beautiful. Independently, indeed, of this consideration, the personal charms of these dissolute courtesans were sometimes of a very high order; forms modelled by the Graces, delicate features, and eyes of surpassing brightness and beauty. Of the Hejazis, the majority were of complexion most swarthy; but in all I observed a fire in the eye, indicative of an ardent temperament and impassioned character, wholly different from that of the Fellahs. Our negociations with the horse owners and camel drivers terminated unfavourably; even the donkey-men, who, in general, are ready to undertake any journey, refused to enter into an engagement to proceed beyond Medineh, or to furnish us with bridles or saddles; abstaining, however, from stating their

reasons, which we afterwards discovered when it was nearly too late. Such being the case, we had no alternative but to continue our voyage.

Thursday, Feb. 28. CAIRO.

DXXXI. On waking this morning, I found that, although the force of the wind had greatly abated, we had nevertheless made considerable way during the night, and might hope, with some little exertion, to reach Cairo in the evening. Towards this point of my travels I now looked forward with extreme anxiety; not that my enthusiasm had evaporated, or that the Nile, with the beautiful country which it waters, had begun to weary me; but from motives by which most men, I hope, would, under similar circumstances, be actuated — the desire of receiving — what I trusted would have awaited me there — news from home. This idea, which had, for some time, been uppermost in my mind, rendered me, I confess, much less sensible than I should otherwise have been to the charms of the landscape; nevertheless, the approach to Cairo from the south is far too striking and magnificent to be beheld, at any time, with indifference. For several miles before we reach the city, the white battlements of the citadel, and the lofty minarets of the Mosque of Sultan Hassan, are visible, towering above every thing around them. Numerous boats of picturesque and elegant construction, with large triangular sails, crowd the surface of the river. On the one hand are the modern buildings of Toura; on the other, that prodigious line of

mouldering pyramids, which extend along the edge of the desert from Dashour to Ghizeh, conferring, by the historical associations they awaken, an indescribable air of grandeur and solemn antiquity upon the landscape. Presently we draw near the ruins of Babylon, now chiefly remarkable for the noble avenue of sycamore trees, leading from thence northward along the banks of the river. To this succeeds *Masr el Atikeh*, or "Old Cairo," — and then the village of Ghizeh, embosomed in date-woods — the verdant and beautiful island of Rhouda — the tower of the Nilometer — the narrow channel on the right filled with ships, now crimsoned by the beams of the setting sun — the palaces, the gardens on either hand — ladies, veiled, rowed by in sumptuous pleasure boats by their slaves — trees — odoriferous plants — flowers — and every sign of spring. Evening being, in these countries, the season of the day principally devoted to enjoyment, the palaces and villas on both shores began, as twilight thickened, to be lavishly illuminated, while music, such as even the most fastidious Frank might listen to with delight, came floating on the perfumed breeze. In such moments, the romantic incidents and gorgeous descriptions of the "Arabian Nights" spontaneously present themselves to the mind; and though, upon cool examination, the interior of those Musulman palaces might not have strictly corresponded with the pictures traced by the fancy, it would still, I make no doubt, have sufficed, with its superb divans, mirrors, chandeliers, and numerous female inmates, attired in the seductive

costume of the harem, to steep the senses in forgetfulness. It was already quite dark when we arrived at *Boolak;* but, since it seemed extremely probable that in Cairo I might find waiting for me letters from Lausanne, I immediately quitted the kandjia, and walked hastily across the plain, in order to arrive before the time of evening prayer and the closing of the gates. Among the pains of travelling, however, none are more acute than those caused by the irregularity and uncertainty of the post-office, more especially in a country like Egypt; — no letters had arrived; —and all the pleasure I had promised myself on my return to Cairo vanished in a moment.

CHAPTER VII.

CAIRO — TURKISH QUARTER — OSMAN EFFENDI — ANECDOTE OF BURCKHARDT — CRIME OF POISONING — TRAGICAL EVENTS IN THE HAREMS — THE DATURA — POISONING OF TRAVELLERS — ANECDOTE OF AN ARAB — MODE OF SEDUCTION — VISIT TO HELIOPOLIS — PILGRIM CARAVAN — TENTS — ARAB HORSES — CEMETERIES OF CAIRO — PLAIN OF HELIOPOLIS — FOUNTAIN OF THE SUN — TREE OF THE VIRGIN — VENERATED BY THE MOHAMMEDANS — SITE OF ON — SOLITARY OBELISK — ANCIENT CAPITAL OF EGYPT — ANCIENT TRADITIONS — RAMESES, THE EGYPTIAN GOD OF WAR — ABATTOIRS.

Friday, March 1. CAIRO.

DXXXII. INSTEAD of taking up our quarters at the Italian Hotel, we now hired a house in the Turkish quarter, the property of Osman Effendi, whose attention and civility to European travellers, — more particularly towards the English, — are well known. He had been the friend and companion of Burckhardt in the Hejaz, and frequently amused us, in the evening, by relating humorous anecdotes of his adventures both in Arabia and Egypt. Osman, it seems, first saw him in a tailor's shop at Jidda. Some peculiarity in the countenance, and, perhaps, a foreign accent in the pronunciation of Arabic, which each could detect, but not avoid, mutually betrayed them to each other, notwithstanding the masquerading costume in which they both appeared. Osman was

at this time practising as a physician; and Burckhardt, who always associated reluctantly with the Arabs, found some relief in occasionally putting off, in his company, the burden of an assumed character. To prolong this enjoyment, our *Hakim*, to whom the society of Turks and Arabs was no less irksome than to Burckhardt, joined his friend at Mekka, where they went together through the ceremonies of the pilgrimage; a fact which it is somewhat extraordinary that Burckhardt should have omitted to notice. Shy and timid in his manners, passionate, but placable, in his character,—he was often, when moving about the country in the disguise of a peasant, ill-treated and beaten by the Arabs; and once in a very severe manner, with the *naboot* *, by a *Jellabi*, or "slave merchant," in Upper Egypt. Burckhardt, some time afterwards, met the man in the streets of Cairo, where he was living in high respectability and had friends at court. Retaining no resentment, he accosted him very mildly. "Ah! my old friend, said he, how do you do? Where is your *naboot*?" The *Jellabi*, recollecting his features, and observing that the person whom he had beaten as a *Fellah* occupied in reality a much higher rank in society, began to imagine he already felt the *koorbash* on the soles of his feet, and throwing himself upon the ground before the traveller, and kissing his shoes, conjured him by the Prophet and by his

* A heavy walking stick, usually about four feet in length, carried as a weapon by the Fellahs, and sometimes shod with iron.

beard to have mercy on him. Burckhardt, laughing at his terrors, dismissed him very good-humouredly, merely remarking that it might be prudent to be more sparing of the *naboot* in future, lest he should, some time or another, strike a more powerful and implacable man.

DXXXIII. Poisoning is a crime of very common occurrence in Egypt, where the imperfection of the laws, and the peculiar state of society, render detection and punishment exceedingly difficult. When a man dies, therefore, it is the custom to take hold of his mustachios or beard, which, they say, will easily come off in the hand, if the deceased has been poisoned; though this is a fact which I have never seen corroborated by the testimony of any European physician.* Jealousy and revenge — "spretaque forma" — constitute, among the inmates of the harem, the most ordinary incentives to this crime. Having no resource but sensual excitement, with no other companions than their own fierce passions; deprived, when they do not happen to be mothers, of all the holy and purifying influence of affection; cut off by many thou-

* But a circumstance corroborative of the fact has been noticed by Captain Williamson in his Oriental Field Sports. — "The poison," says he, "never fails to kill within an hour." — "As soon as the tiger is dead, no time is lost in stripping off the skin, for, were it suffered to remain until tainted by the heat, nothing could effect its preservation; it would rot, to a certainty; or even were it not to do so, the hair would loosen and fall off. Such would result merely from the atmosphere; but *poison* accelerates its decomposition tenfold; and after the torments produced by the wound, the carcase becomes exceedingly disposed to putrescence."

sand miles from their parents and the female friends of their youth; the Georgian and Circassian women, confined in the harem, deeply feel the sting of neglect, and, while thus goaded, listen to no voice but that of their fury. Though it would be unphilosophical to generalise, in matters of this kind, where the experience, even of the best informed, must be extremely limited, it may yet, I think, be inferred that the voluptuous establishments of the Orientals are frequently shaken to their centre by the most tragical events. Women will still be women, in whatever climate they may be found; nor can custom, though long established and almost universal, ever reconcile them to that insulting kind of community of affection which forms the paradise of a Musulman. Jealousy is excited, perhaps, in wives already past the season of beauty, by the introduction into the harem of a young mistress in the flower of her age, wanton, petulant, and insolent, presuming upon her short-lived influence to treat with contumely ladies long domiciliated in the mansion. To her, for a time, the husband confines his attentions; their amours, carried on under the eyes of the legitimate wives, rouse their indignation; they consult together; each urges on the other; some fresh insult renders them desperate; and the seed of the *hyoscyamus datura* presents itself as the sole cure for their insufferable evils. But the women are not the only persons who avail themselves of this ready poison. Unscrupulous persons, dwelling in remote and little frequented parts of the country, are likewise sometimes known, when by

chance a wayfaring man arrives at their habitation, to present him with bread containing a large proportion of these seeds, which, producing a long and lethargic sleep, enables them, as they may consider most expedient, to rob or murder him. On this subject numerous anecdotes are related by the Caireens. Not many months ago, an Arab, proceeding with twenty-five laden asses along the skirts of the desert, arrived about nightfall at a solitary hut, the owner of which, — a Black from the upper country, — observing him to be fatigued by his day's journey, kindly offered him food, and a resting-place for the night. Entertaining no suspicion, and confiding in the laws of hospitality, generally held sacred by persons of his race, the Arab led his asses into the court-yard; after which he accepted the invitation of the Black, and ate the food which was placed before him. The ordinary narcotic, however, having been mingled with the bread, sleep quickly succeeded to his meal; and when he awoke, at the expiration of twenty-four hours, the perfidious host had disappeared, with his asses and other property; and, having secured himself the advantage of so considerable a space of time, succeeded in entirely escaping detection. It is likewise common for housebreakers, who meditate a design against the property of their neighbours, to contrive, by bribing their slaves, or some other means, to administer this narcotic to the whole family. An example of this occurred the other day at *Ghizeh*, the village which gives its name to the greater pyramids, where a robber, in thus practising on a numerous family, actually

poisoned one of its members; the rest, after sleeping three days, recovered; but the miscreant, who, however, failed in his attempt upon the house, was never discovered. Libertines, when the ordinary arts of seduction fail, will sometimes administer these seeds, in small quantities, to young women, and take advantage of the delirium or stupefaction they produce. But as, in moderate doses, the immediate effect is a kind of pleasing intoxication, resembling that which is caused by opium or hemp-seed, the profligate and vulgar of both sexes, who, in Europe, would have recourse to ardent spirits, make use of these seeds to procure a temporary oblivion of their cares; and women, under the influence of *datura*, may often be seen in the streets of Cairo, with inflamed countenances and flashing eyes, laughing, dancing, singing, and committing various other acts of indecency.

Saturday, March 2. CAIRO.

DXXXIV. Though it was now our principal object to procure dromedaries for the journey across the desert into the Fayoom, the delays unavoidably encountered in all dealings with Turks or Arabs, left us abundant leisure for enlarging our acquaintance with the curiosities in the environs of Cairo. Among the most remarkable of these, the site and solitary obelisk of Heliopolis,—the On of the Scriptures,—should unquestionably be enumerated; and they were the things to the visiting and examining of which we devoted this day. The road leading to Heliopolis lying over the extensive sandy plain, north-east of

Cairo, stretching from the city to the mountains, where, at this time, the military escort, designed to protect the pilgrim caravan in its march across the Arabian desert towards Mekka, was encamped, we deviated a little from our course in order to observe the tents and equipments of this diminutive host. Though the number of soldiers was small, the whole materiel of the scene, — tents, horses, furniture, arms, all in their form and appearance Oriental, — presented an aspect highly striking and characteristic. On the countenance of every individual, the marks of having braved the sun and scorching blasts of the desert were deeply engraved. They were mostly veterans; men who, in the numerous shocks and vicissitude of life, had been entirely emancipated from the ingenuous prejudices of youth, from the influence of ardent enthusiasm, from the love of adventure, from the passion for distinction; all now replaced by that valour generated by habitual exposure to danger. To behold this camp, and not to feel the desire to accompany it, in its perilous marches over the sandy plains of Arabia, was impossible. In a few days it would be in motion, at the head of many thousand pilgrims, who had already, in their advance towards the Holy City, traversed the greater part of the African continent, from beyond Fez and Morocco; and, had fortune permitted, nothing could have been more flattering to my imagination than to have joined this vast body of enthusiasts, penetrated with them through the undescribed paths of the wilderness, and contemplated their wild but pious exercises at the birth-

place and tomb of their Prophet. The tents of the common soldiers and inferior officers were white, and of the ordinary form; but those of the commander and treasurer of the troops, who probably claimed a descent from Mohammed, were of a light leaf green colour, and most elegantly fashioned. Numerous horses, several of them of rare beauty, were picketed, in the usual manner, on the plain, eating corn, in the London fashion, from small bags suspended on their noses; while their owners, in the gorgeous costume and sparkling decorations of the Egyptian cavalry, were sauntering idly through the camp. Formerly it would have been highly imprudent in a traveller to venture among these fanatical Moslems, who, when preparing to visit their holy places, seem to have been animated by a double portion of the spirit of persecution; but the ordonnances and example of the Pasha have effected a wonderful change in these matters; for whatever may have been the secret feelings with which they beheld us ride among their tents, scrutinize their horses, accoutrements, and arms, their behaviour manifested no disposition to insolence, but rather a desire to exhibit to the best advantage all the politeness they were masters of. Supposing that all Englishmen, since they are admirers of horses, must necessarily be proficients in the veterinary art, they did us the honour to consult our judgment respecting the various ailments of their beasts; several of which, they said, had for three days rejected their food, while others ate a great deal without getting fat. In some of these cases Monro prescribed bleeding, in others

physic; but they appeared to entertain a horror of Caireen phlebotomists; and were evidently inclined, after all, to trust the whole affair to nature. Meanwhile one of those who possessed healthy steeds, mounted, in order to amuse us with some of the singular feats of Turkish horsemanship. He wheeled, he curvetted, he stopped his courser in mid gallop; but in exhibitions of this kind, the Turks fall short, perhaps, of the old Mamalook cavaliers in boldness and dexterity.

DXXXV. At a short distance beyond the pilgrim camp, we passed along the skirts of one of those extensive cemeteries which may almost be said to encompass Cairo on all sides. These Necropoli, or suburbs of the dead, are not enclosed, as in European countries, with walls or railings, or by a circumvallation of pious reverence, as in Nubia; thither, on the contrary, the jugglers, the dancing girls, the lewd and profligate of both sexes, repair, and by their bacchanalian orgies, conducted with indescribable effrontery, profane in open daylight the peaceful but neglected grave. In the midst of the cemetery stand a few superior mausolea,—the last home of the wealthy and great,—consisting of a neat square building, in the light Saracenic style, surmounted by a dome, or cupola; but by far the greater number are humble tombs, whitewashed, as in Wales, and exhibiting evident signs of dilapidation and decay. Having traversed this melancholy spot, and the sandy tract beyond it, we entered on the richly

cultivated plain of Heliopolis, interspersed with groves of spreading trees, and the evergreen odoriferous gardens of Africa. Such landscapes, though destitute of the charm of hill and dale, always appeared to me eminently beautiful, when clothed, as they now were, with the fresh vegetation of spring. Here the rhamnus lotus, the lime tree, the citron, and the orange, growing in unpruned luxuriance, presented to the eye their lovely fruit, partly green and partly gold, clustering thick among the dark leaves, which, when pressed, or shaken by the wind, exhaled a rare and delicious perfume. Every part of the prospect, far as the eye could reach, exhibited some peculiar charm. The trees and bushes by the way side,—many of the latter apparently deciduous, — were already covered with young leaves; and innumerable wild flowers, some,—as the daisy and the buttercup,—familiar, others unknown, enamelled the fields. In several places the ground was covered with newly cut grass, which, as the warm rays fed upon its moisture, diffused that well-known but exquisite fragrance which scents our English hay-fields; while numerous rills of clear water, running through grassy channels, maintained an agreeable freshness in the air. But, perhaps, the master-charm of all derived its power from historical associations: I was approaching the birth-place of Moses; before me was the plain on which the Hebrew shepherds* first pitched their

* This, I imagine, with Pococke, to have been the Land of Goshen; though Jablonski, for whose learning, however, I entertain the highest respect, decides in favour of the Fayoom. "Ostendimus enim," he

tents on their arrival in Egypt: and such considerations, whatever may be the case with others, have always, I confess, exerted much influence over me.

DXXXVI. Some time before arriving at *Matarea*, we turned into a citron grove, on the right hand of the road, to behold that venerable sycamore, in whose shade the Virgin, with the infant Christ, is said to have reposed during the flight into Egypt. Here, likewise, is the *Ain** *Shems*, or "Fountain of the Sun," which, though supposed by the Catholic traditions to have been miraculously produced to quench the thirst of the holy fugitives, existed, no doubt, in all ages; and was, perhaps, if we may derive any inference from the modern appellation, consecrated to the service of a temple of Aroëris. The TREE OF THE MADONNA, as it is denominated even by the Mohammedans, consists of a vast trunk, the upper part of which having been blown down by storms, or shattered by lightning, young branches have sprung forth from the top, and extending their arms on all

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says, "rationibus non contemnandis, Gosen Israelitarum in Ægypto domicilium, illam regni hujus provinciam, quam Græci Heracleopolin, Arabes Fioum nuncupere consueverunt." — *Dissert. de Terrâ Gosen*, p. 224.

* The village of *Matarea* derives its name, according to D'Anville, from this fountain: *ma* (or rather, *moyé*) "water;" and *tarea*, or *trüch*, "fresh." He, moreover, observes that it may be regarded as a kind of phenomenon in a country where fountains are so rare. — *Mémoire sur l'Egypte, &c.* p. 114. But, as Major Rennell remarks, on the authority of Pococke, (i. 24.) good water is here obtained by digging to the depth of a few feet. — *Geography of Herodotus*, ii. 116, 117.

sides, still afford a broad and agreeable shade. Its shape is remarkable: flat on both sides, like a wall, but with an irregular surface, it leans considerably, forming a kind of natural penthouse. Numerous names, accompanied by the figure of the cross, have been cut upon it by Catholic travellers; but even the Moslems seem to regard it with veneration, for those who visited it with us spoke low and reverentially, as if they esteemed the spot whereon they stood to be holy ground. Protestants, from I know not what motive, sometimes affect to consider the tradition which sanctifies this tree as "one of those many childish legends which have diverted Christians from the spirituality and simplicity of faith;" but by what chain of ratiocination they arrive at this conclusion it appears somewhat difficult to discover. At all events, since the Egyptian sycamore, among various other trees, will live many thousand years, there is nothing absurd in the supposition that the Virgin may have sat, with the infant Saviour, under the shade of this noble trunk, which bears all the appearance of prodigious antiquity.

DXXXVII. From this grove we proceeded through beautiful corn-fields to the site of Heliopolis, marked by extensive mounds, and a single obelisk, rising alone in the plain, and at this time surrounded by a rich crop of barley. This obelisk, consisting of one block of red granite, about sixty-five feet in height, is still nearly perfect; a part of the western face only having been chipped away, probably at the

time when Cambyses ordered immense fires to be kindled around this and similar monuments, in order to obliterate the traces of an idolatry which he despised, or of an ancient power which he had overthrown, and whose regeneration he may have dreaded. An inscription in hieroglyphical characters is repeated on each of its four faces; from which antiquarians, versed in the sacred language of the Egyptians, have discovered the name of the monarch by whom it was erected; but of this science I am entirely ignorant. Somewhere near this spot stood the temple, of which Potiphar, the father of Joseph's wife, was priest. Heliopolis, in fact, appears to have been the ancient capital of the country before the foundation of Memphis; for, from the historical details in the book of Genesis, it seems clear that, when Jacob and his sons came, by the invitation of Joseph, into Egypt, the seat of government and the palace of the Pharaohs were here, nigh to the Land of Goshen, which the minister obtained for his relations. When, in subsequent ages, Memphis arose, and became the habitation of the kings, Heliopolis dwindled into a city of inferior rank; though it still contained the most celebrated colleges of the priests, and was regarded as the university of Egypt. Here, accordingly, we find that Herodotus, Plato, and Eudoxus, men differing greatly from each other in character and genius, devoted much time and pains to the examination of the sciences and pretensions of the Egyptians. But from this period it must have fallen rapidly to decay; as, when Strabo and Ælius

Gallus visited the spot, about thirty years before the Christian era, it had already been deserted by the priests, though the great Temple of the Sun was still standing, and apparently frequented as a place of worship. The Greek geographer's description comprehends the notice of various ruins, temples, propylæa, obelisks, sphynxes, which no longer exist. Pococke, indeed, discovered several sphynxes among the mounds of rubbish; but these seem to have been again buried by the continual accumulation of soil, for we could now perceive no trace of them. Perhaps the solitary obelisk which marks the site of On, the "City of the Sun," should be regarded as the most ancient monument existing in Egypt, since it was probably erected, while this was the capital of the kingdom, long before the foundation of Memphis. Diodorus, indeed, speaks of two obelisks, set up here by Sesostris, one hundred and eighty feet in height, and twelve feet square at the base; and Pliny relates that Sochis and Rameses, the latter contemporary with Priam, erected each four obelisks; those of Sochis seventy-two, those of Rameses sixty feet, in height. But little stress can be laid on the vague traditions collected by such writers respecting the monarchs to whom certain public works should be attributed. In all probability, the Great Rameses of the Egyptians (whose name occurs in the Book of Genesis), like the Rama of the Hindoos, was a mythological personage, identical with Papremis, their God of War; every great undertaking, the author of which was unknown, seeming, among the

Egyptians, to have been referred to Rameses, as to Semiramis among the Assyrians. To him the priests of Thebes (who probably knew no more of the ancient sacred language than we do), in their conversation with Germanicus, attributed the great military achievements and conquests of their ancestors; indulging, for the purpose of raising his wonder, in a ridiculous style of exaggeration, which must have excited his laughter. The village of *Matarea* is situated about six miles N.E. of Cairo, at no great distance from the *Birket el Haj*, or "Lake of the Pilgrims," where the caravan usually encamps on the second night of its departure for Mekka. On our return to Cairo, we passed by two of the government abattoirs, filthy, stinking, and surrounded by pools of blood, which, with the other abominations of the place, attracted thither in troops the wild dogs of the neighbourhood.

CHAPTER VIII.

INTERFERENCE OF THE GOVERNMENT — ENGAGEMENTS WITH THE ARABS — MAHAZI GUIDE — JOURNEY TO LAKE MŒRIS — DEPARTURE FROM CAIRO — PLEASURES OF TRAVELLING — CHARMS OF THE DESERT — SOUTH WIND — CLOUDS OF DUST AND SAND — THE FERRY OF GHIZEH — GROTESQUE SCENE — PLAIN OF MEMPHIS — MOONLIGHT — MITRAHENI — THE CARAVANSERAI — THE GOLDEN AGE — BREAKFAST IN A SHEÏKH'S TOMB — PREPARE TO ENTER ON THE DESERT — FIRE-ARMS — APPEARANCE OF THE DESERT — ARE JOINED BY A TURKISH GENTLEMAN — LEARN THAT THE WHOLE PROVINCE OF THE FAYOOM IS IN A STATE OF INSURRECTION — INCURSIONS OF THE MOGGREBYNS — ROCKY LANDSCAPE — THE SALUTATION OF PEACE — BARRENNESS OF THE WASTE — PALM TREES OF THE FAYOOM APPEAR IN THE DISTANCE — APPROACH TO THE CULTIVATED COUNTRY — ARRIVAL AT FAMEIA — INSOLENT FAMILIARITY OF THE NATIVES — ANCIENT WATER WORKS — AQUATIC BIRDS — FIRST VIEW OF LAKE MŒRIS — REMAINS OF ANTIQUITY — RETURN TO THE CARAVANSERAI — FIDELITY OF OUR GUIDE.

Tuesday, March 6. *Mitraheni.*

DXXXVIII. In Egypt, the government intermeddles with every thing. If, for example, you desire to enter into an engagement with a Bedouin Sheïkh to pass with security through any portion of the desert belonging to his tribe, it is necessary to appear before the governor of Cairo; to have your contract drawn up in his presence; and, when the instrument has been duly signed and sealed by both parties, to deposit the original, or a copy of it, in the citadel. Should dromedaries be required for the purpose of

performing a journey within the limits of Egypt, or of the other dominions of the Pasha, the regular course is, to make application to government, which will furnish, at a reasonable price, the necessary number of animals, properly accoutred, with the requisite Bedouin guides and attendants. To the traveller this regulation is of inestimable advantage. The sum to be paid being determined, no disagreeable wrangling, at least on this score, can take place between the stranger and the camel-driver; and the undertaking is usually accomplished, where inveterate insolence or ill-nature does not constitute the characteristics of the parties concerned, in the utmost harmony and good feeling. In some cases, however, the authorities, through heedlessness or indifference, seriously endanger the traveller's safety, by placing in his service guides or attendants belonging to tribes hostile to the lords of the country through which he is to pass; and as he must generally be ignorant of the history or existence of such feuds, the first circumstance, perhaps, which calls his attention to the subject, is a sudden attack in the desert; for the chivalrous Bedouins seem to regard it as a point of honour not to disturb the imaginations of their employers by awakening apprehensions of dangers which, after all, may not be predestined to happen. Such was the conduct of Habib Effendi in our particular case. He knew perfectly well that the *Mahazi*, or *Atouni* Arabs, inhabiting the desert extending from *Suez* to *Kossier*, were at enmity,—as most of the Eastern tribes are,—with the *Moggrebyn* Bedouins of

Libya; yet it was from among the *Atouni*, abhorred by the people west of the Nile, that he selected for us a guide to Lake Mœris, through a province where even the Pasha's own engineers, in the most peaceable times, dared not make their appearance without a powerful military escort; a fact of which I was assured at Alexandria, by Mr. Wallace, who had been employed by the Pasha in surveying the various districts of the *Fayoom*, and who very kindly dissuaded me from hazarding the journey without a guard. It was, therefore, not unwarned that we undertook it; but the peril would have been considerably diminished, had our guide been chosen from any other tribe of Bedouins.

DXXXIX. In all journeys of this kind, the pleasures of preparation and setting out, with the dim shadowing forth by the imagination of the adventures in which it is possible you may be engaged, are, perhaps, among the best that travelling supplies. Our provisions and kitchen utensils having been made ready, the impatience with which we awaited the appearance of our *Mahazi*, with his dromedaries, was extreme. At length, however, late in the day, he arrived, with four spare, long-legged animals, which seemed, like conscientious Musulmans, to have gone through all the rigid observances of the *Ramadan*. Mohammed, the guide, appeared, from his bronzed weather-beaten countenance, adorned with a long deep scar, and from the extreme airiness and freedom of his demeanour,

differing entirely from that of the *Fellahs*, to be a fresh importation from the desert. He received our reproaches for the lateness of his arrival as if conscious they were well merited, and replied only by the alacrity and activity with which he loaded the sumpter camel, on which he was himself to be mounted, and adjusted the saddles of the other beasts. These operations completed, he informed us that all was ready; held down the heads of our dromedaries while we mounted; and then, vaulting lightly into his own saddle, put himself in advance of our little procession, and led the way through the tortuous, innumerable, endless streets of Cairo. Rejoiced at being once more in motion, my spirits rose as I quitted the city and began to look towards the desert, upon which we were soon to enter. The condition of mind in which travellers usually find themselves on such occasions, must unquestionably, when described in words, appear, to such as have never experienced it, exceedingly incomprehensible, if not altogether absurd. These find it difficult to conceive what satisfaction a man can promise himself from riding on a dromedary, in the burning sun, across a waste of sand, where, if he encounters any living creature, it will probably be an enemy, where neither ruins nor any other traces of civilisation exist, and where, in fact, it is impossible that man should ever leave any permanent marks of his vanity or power. But these very considerations include the secret cause of the delight which is generated by a journey through the wilderness. Most persons have

been made sensible, by experience or hearsay, of the sublimity of the ocean, traceable to the terrors, the uncertainties, the vast powers of destruction, with which it has been endued by the Creator. But with all these qualities the desert appears to be clothed in a superior degree. You indeed feel, while traversing its pathless expanses, that you have your foot upon the earth; but you behold all around, as far as the eye can reach, innumerable mounds and hillocks of light sand, those inexhaustible magazines of destruction, ever ready to be lifted up by the hurricane, and poured in irresistible torrents upon the traveller or the caravan. Here, moreover, in these desolate places of the earth, roams the indomptable Bedouin, the model of primitive warfare and hospitality. Such are the circumstances which render the great wastes of Africa — those oceans of sand — delightful to traverse; not that they are dangerous, — for no man can be in love with danger, — but that they awaken the spirit of adventure, the most fascinating, the most inexhaustible of all pleasures, and cast the gorgeous mantle of romance and poetry over the imagination, which, on the ordinary high road of life, is apt to be clad in colours somewhat too sober.

DXL. On emerging from the streets of the city, we found that the wind, which blew with great violence from the south, was bringing along with it torrents of dust and sand, so thick and impetuous, that it was impossible to keep the eyes open for many seconds at a time. Even the dromedaries, habituated as they

must have been to such a state of the atmosphere, seemed to go lumbering on with their eyes closed, so that it was sometimes with difficulty we could keep them from striking against the walls, or running foul of each other. The sky, as is generally the case during the prevalence of the scirocco, was filled with thick hazy clouds, through which the sun, when it became visible at intervals, appeared pale and rayless, like the moon. At the ferry between Old Cairo and Ghizeh we experienced considerable delay; but the time was not lost; for the scenes which we here witnessed among the *Fellahs*, male and female, who crowded the bank of the river, with their camels and asses, were so characteristic, and at the same time so grotesque and ludicrous, that they would have afforded many hours' amusement. There were several boats, but the number of passengers was so great, that they scrambled for a place with as much warmth and eagerness as if they had been making their escape from the pursuit of an enemy. In their haste to cross the Nile, and return to the village, even the respect and deference usually shown to a Frank were forgotten. Scarcely could we squeeze ourselves into one of the ferry-boats, between camels, asses, men, women, old and young, bags of corn, and baskets of bread, fruit, and vegetables; and when we were in, the next difficulty was to keep off the asses, in the midst of which we stood bolt upright, from treading on our toes. For some minutes a promiscuous crowd of men and beasts poured after us into the boat, the camels roaring, the asses braying, the women and

children shrieking, the men swearing, until the mingled din exceeded that of Babel; at length, becoming impatient and angry, we compelled them to put off from the shore. On account of the violence of the wind, the greatest difficulty was experienced in keeping the boat steady; but, on the other hand, we crossed over very rapidly, and had soon landed and remounted on the opposite bank. I have already, in the account of my visit to the pyramids, described the country through which we now passed. The plain before us was that of Memphis, and the rich pasture, the corn-fields, the lofty date-woods, and the flocks and herds by which its surface was now diversified, clothed in the sombre hues of twilight, seemed rather to belong to antiquity than to the present day. In a short time the moon rose, and conferred a still more poetical character on the landscape; for the scirocco had passed, and with it the clouds and mist which had obscured the atmosphere. It is difficult to convey a just idea of the effect produced by moonlight on the figures of the numerous pyramids now visible: ranged like a file of pale shining mountains along the skirts of the desert, they seemed to be some shadowy spectral things, not of this world; the white expanse of sand at their feet, contrasted with the dusky hue of the cultivated land, giving them, to the eye of fancy, the appearance of huge fabrics based upon a cloud, like those which the mind often fashions at evening among the vapours of a summer sky. It was our intention, at starting, to proceed as far as *Dashour;* but Mohammed seemed to be of

opinion that as, on the morrow, we should have to make a long journey, it would be better to go early to rest. We therefore directed our course towards the village of *Mitraheni*, guided by the extensive date woods and vast mounds, commonly supposed to be those of Memphis, in the midst of which the *Fellahs* have built their houses of unburned brick. Our first inquiry, on arriving, regarded, not the antiquities scattered about the neighbourhood, or any thing relating to them, but the practicability of procuring something for dinner, which our long ride had rendered a matter of considerable importance; but the modern Memphians, whatever may have been the case with their ancestors, were so exceedingly ill provided in these matters, that our piastres, after making in vain the tour of the whole village, returned in their original shape to our purses, instead of being transmuted, by the divine alchemy of commerce, into beef or pigeons. Had we come empty-handed from the Victorious City, we might therefore, if we pleased, have devoured the remains of the temple of Vulcan; but we contented ourselves with rice and maccaroni, which we shared with our *Mahazi* guide, who, though somewhat advanced in years, still exhibited in all his movements, the vigour and activity of youth. The little caravanserai of *Mitraheni*, which has seldom, I conceive, been applied to the accommodation of a Frank, exhibited, during our culinary and commensal operations, a very original spectacle. Our baggage being stowed away in a corner, we arranged our beds near, and, sticking a

lamp in the earth, opened our maps and books close beside it, and lay down to consult them; so that the Arabs, whom curiosity attracted in crowds to the spot, took us, no doubt, for the members of some fanatical sect, who performed their devotions in that strange posture. The women, in particular, were greatly amused at our style of praying; and, after regarding us for some time, with a feeling lying midway between laughter and astonishment, burst out into their usual exclamation of *Wallah!* ("By God!") Meanwhile our Caireen and Bedouin attendants had kindled a fire not far from us on the ground, the smoke of which, having no appropriate vent above, made the circuit of the room, and, being of a very pungent quality, brought tears into the eyes of our fair friends, putting them forcibly in mind of that "Gehenna," to which they charitably condemn all Franks and Giaours. In a short time, therefore, the majority made their retreat; but when the rice and maccaroni were served up, they did us the honour to return, in order to satisfy themselves respecting the manner in which an infidel eats his dinner,—expecting, perhaps, to be invited to share it, and cursing, all the time we ate, our inhospitable dispositions, and want of politeness; though, in point of fact, our whole stock, had it been cooked at once, would not have afforded our guests a mouthful each. When bedtime came, the ladies most politely quitted us; not from any idea of decorum, but because they were sleepy; for several less drowsy than the rest, entered or passed through the room after we had lain down.

Wednesday, March 7. *Tameia.*

DXLI. Having a long ride before us, we departed early from *Mitraheni*, and proceeded along the skirts of the cultivated country, — one of the most fertile and beautiful plains in the world, — towards *Kafr el Kebir*, where we designed to breakfast. The morning was lovely. Fields and copses steeped in dew, — which, trickling over the leaves and grass, glittered like diamonds in the sun, — and sprinkled with delicate wild-flowers, involuntarily recalled to remembrance the enthusiastic descriptions of poetry, and that golden age of impassioned innocence, —

"When love was liberty, and Nature law."

To the traveller, in a climate so warm and delightful as that of Egypt, the Golden Age, so long as he keeps the inhabitants out of sight, is no fable. Kept continually in a state of rapturous excitement by the sun, his imagination casts its own vivid colouring over every thing, and causes him to move about in an atmosphere of poetry. His spirits buoyant as air, his feelings harmonized, his heart involuntarily overflowing with benevolence, he is at peace with heaven and earth, and can with difficulty be made to believe in the existence of crime or misery. In such a frame of mind the plainest morsel is sweet; and, accordingly, the meals which we cooked and ate on the road, in the valley or the desert, beneath the shade of a palm tree, or amid hillocks of drifted sand, seemed more delicious than any thing I had ever

tasted; but for this pleasure, I was principally, perhaps, indebted to health and hunger. At *Kafr el Kebir* we halted and unladed our camels at a Sheïkh's tomb, which we took the liberty to convert into a breakfast parlour. Our fire, however, was kindled, and our coffee prepared without, in the open air, beside the camels, which always lay down and ate when we did. Some young women from the village brought us milk and new-laid eggs, remaining there laughing and talking until we mounted our dromedaries to depart; and then wished us, Franks and infidels as we were, a pleasant and prosperous journey.

DXLII. On quitting this village, Mohammed, our *Mahazi* guide, advised us to load and keep in readiness our arms, as the road on which we were about to enter—if road it could be called where road was none—was always beset by marauding parties of Moggrebyns, whose profession is robbery. We now emerged from the cultivated country, and entered upon the desert. I have already, on several occasions, endeavoured, perhaps unsuccessfully, to convey a correct idea of those desolate and barren expanses, bordering on the Valley of the Nile, to which the above term is applied. By the Arabs they are denominated *Gebel*, or "the Mountain," because the only mountains with which they are acquainted are characterised by extreme sterility. Besides, the surface of these boundless wastes, though seldom sufficiently elevated to possess, in the eyes of an European, accustomed to

the prodigious masses of the Alps, the aspect of a mountainous country, is in reality very far from being uniformly plain, or from presenting that dull monotonous appearance, which, for want of experience, we are in general apt to attribute to it. But the face of the desert is singularly diversified. Arid no doubt it is, and, to many, gloomy and dispiriting, suggesting ideas of death, which are certainly, in most cases, unwelcome; yet this is by no means the effect which it necessarily produces, since the Bedouins are, beyond most other nations, gay and cheerful; and, in my own case, never were my spirits more light, my fancy and imagination crowded with more pleasurable images, or my perceptions of the delights of existence more exquisitely keen, than when riding on a fleet dromedary across the sands, or through the stony vallies of the Libyan desert, amid the refreshing breezes of the morning.

DXLIII. When we had proceeded several miles amid the wild rocks, interspersed among sandy hollows, which bordered our track, we perceived, on turning the foot of a hill, a party of Arabs a little in the rear, who, pursuing the same route, seemed to be also proceeding towards the *Fayoom*. Among them was a Turkish gentleman, who, when he saw us, detached himself from the Arabs, and came galloping over the sand until he had overtaken our party. He then very politely demanded whether, as we appeared to be travelling in the same direction, we would permit him to join our company, since, the roads being

unsafe, a large party was preferable to a small one; to which we assented, and somewhat slackened our pace, in order to enable his mule to keep up with us. In the course of the rambling conversation that ensued, and was kept up by our Turk with great vivacity, he inquired whether we had heard the news. Supposing he might be alluding to some local affair, utterly indifferent to a stranger, we replied that, not being interested in such matters, we seldom concerned ourselves about them, being wholly occupied in acquiring information of another kind. But in this affair, said he, you are deeply interested — it relates to the *Fayoom* — the province whither you are going — in which, by the machinations of the Moggrebyns, the fire of revolt has been kindled, and made to spread, in the space of eight days, over the whole country; where the authority of the Pasha is, for the present, at an end, and where his soldiers, in a battle near *Sanhoor*, have been defeated with loss by the Bedouins, and afterwards pursued up to the very walls of *Medinet*. He was himself, he observed, returning, after a week's absence, to the capital of the province, though exceedingly doubtful whether he should be able to reach it. This intelligence threw a damp over our enthusiasm, since, instead of the "peace and welcome," with which we had everywhere else in Egypt been received, it seemed probable that, if subjected to nothing worse, we should at least experience a portion of the insolence aud humiliation which were heaped upon our older travellers. Come what might, however, we de-

termined to proceed. Our spirits and our arms were good; and although, if attacked by numbers, there would be no chance of escape, we trusted to that aversion, which even bad men feel, to shed the blood of the solitary stranger who confidingly ventures among them.

DXLIV. By degrees the conversation flowed into another channel, and our imaginations became occupied with the singular features of the landscape. Here and there the rocks, though never rising to any great height, put on the appearance of houses, fortresses, or ruined castles, perched on grey cliffs, overhanging ravines narrow and tortuous, whose mouths only presented themselves to the eye, as we passed. To these succeeded broad flinty or sandy vallies; long reaches, like the bed of a great river, between bare stony mountains, alternating with extensive plains of sand or gravel; hillocks of various colours; and winding tracks, through passes, where a small party of Bedouins might easily rout a whole caravan. We met or passed several small parties of Arabs going to or returning from Egypt, all of whom gave us the "salām aleycum," or friendly salutation, to which we made the proper reply. Formerly, no Mohammedan, however lax in his religious principles, would have addressed this form of words, — which appears to imply friendship and corresponding opinions, — to a Christian, even though otherwise disposed to treat him with kindness and consideration; but, with the decline of their national power, a less haughty and overbearing

style of manners has been superinduced; and it is now not uncommon, at least in Egypt, for both Turks and Arabs thus to salute the stranger, whatever may be his creed. Nevertheless, I have met with well-informed persons at Alexandria, who, not having remarked the change, insisted that it had not taken place. The argument happening, however, to be carried on among the ruins of the ancient city, as we were riding home in the evening from the tower of the Cæsars, was immediately terminated; several parties of Arabs, returning to their villages, passed us on the road; to each of these I addressed the "salām aleycum," and was invariably saluted, in reply, with the "aleycum salām." By this means my friends were convinced that the Egyptian moslem is no longer averse to address this sacred formulum to a Christian, knowing him to be such.

DXLV. Our Turkish companion was mounted on a mule of exceeding beauty, — equally remarkable for colour and form, — and, as we rode along on our spare ungainly beasts, whose utility can only be surpassed by their ugliness, it was impossible not to cast down, occasionally, an admiring glance at the sleek and spirited animal by our side, which seemed to be animated by the resolution not to be outdone in speed even by the native courser of the desert. Observing our admiration, which, in the East, appears to be always interpreted into begging, the Turk immediately made us an offer of his mule; adding, politely, by way of inducement, that at home he possessed a

great number of similar animals; that it was, in reality, of no value, but that, since it seemed to hit our fancy, we should oblige him much by accepting of it. From this obligation, or compliment, whichever it may have been, we defended ourselves, by saying it was our intention to return to our country by sea, where the confinement, want of exercise, and tossing about by storms, if they did not kill, would probably spoil the beast; and therefore, though highly sensible of his generosity, we must decline profiting by it. In all the long tract of country extending, in this direction, between the Nilotic valley and the Fayoom, the principle of vegetation appears to be entirely extinct; neither tree, nor shrub, nor plant of any kind, however minute or simple in its organisation, presenting itself to the eye. Of animals or reptiles, native to the wild, no trace appears. Death, therefore, seems here the paramount lord of all; if death can be said to reign where there is nothing to die. But I would not be understood to assert positively that neither plants nor animals exist in this desert, though unquestionably we saw none; for, since even the snows on the solitary and nearly inaccessible heights of the Hindoo Koosh are said to be peopled with what, by the natives, is denominated the *snow-worm*, it is exceedingly probable that the sands also of the wilderness have their inhabitants, which may yet be discovered by the minuter investigations of science.

DXLVI. At length, late in the afternoon, we dis-

covered, on the edge of the horizon, the tops of the palm trees, extending in one dark line from west to east, as far as the eye could reach, and marking the northern boundary of that celebrated and beautiful *oasis*, — for such is the *Fayoom*, — towards which we were journeying. If the desert has its charms, — and charms not a few it has, — those green and fertile spots, which its burning sands encompass like an ocean, are, in a different way, no less attractive. To the former belong wildness, grandeur, sublimity; — qualities that powerfully stir up the energies of the soul, and nerve it for exertion and strife; — to the latter, whatever is soft, and soothing, and lovely; or, to sum up all agreeable qualities in one word, all that is *feminine*, in nature. The desert, therefore, can only please certain temperaments, and in certain moods of mind; but those landscapes on which heaven has showered down the principles of beauty and fertility, where the earth is filled with abundance, and the air with fragrance, must delight, like woman, at all times, by awakening those poetical and impassioned associations that constitute the elements of the most perfect enjoyment. As we approached nearer and nearer to the cultivated region, we observed various changes in the surface of the waste. At first, a few scattered wild plants and flowers, the outposts or advanced guard of vegetation, showed themselves timidly among the sand-hills, where some imperceptible moisture — the scanty dews diffused thus far, perhaps, by the exhalations of lake Mœris — sustained their verdure. As we advanced, these signs of fertility be-

came more numerous. A thin net-work, as it were, of creeping plants, denser in the hollows, more rare upon the eminences, clothed with a greyish verdure the undulating outline of the desert, as if to prepare us gradually for the luxuriant and almost tropical magnificence of vegetation which we were to witness farther on.

DXLVII. In arriving at *Tameia*, we traversed the ancient canal, which, during the inundation, conducts the waters of the Nile from the *Bahr Youssouff* to the lake; for the town, contrary to what appears in the ordinary maps, is situated on the south-west bank of the watercourse. Our Turkish companion accompanied us to the caravanserai, where, in confirmation of the alarming intelligence he had given by the way, we perceived a Bedouin horseman, lance in hand, mounting guard at the gate. Fortunately the Bedouin, whose attention at the moment was otherwise engaged, observed not the Turk, who, hastily bidding us farewell, slipped behind a wall and made his escape. With us the case was different. It was not by avoiding, but by boldly facing the Bedouins, as if apprehending no danger from them, that we were to hope for safety. Riding, therefore, directly up to the gateway, and passing the guard, who made way for us, we entered the court, dismounted, and, ordering our beasts to be unladen, took immediate possession of the best room in the caravanserai; though, to confess the truth, bad was the best. This done, we went forth to view the town,

and such remains of antiquity as are found in its neighbourhood, leaving our attendants to prepare dinner. It was soon manifest we had got among a race of people exceedingly different, in temper and character, from the *Fellahs* on the Nile; for, instead of exhibiting that naïve simplicity and curious wonder, always evident in the countenance of the latter, the *Fayoomis* displayed in their behaviour an impudent familiarity, bordering on positive insolence; wished to snatch our arms out of our hands, in order to satisfy their curiosity in their own way; followed us about in crowds, insisting, whether we would or not, on constituting themselves our guides; to which we at length put a stop, by informing them that, whether they guided or left us to ourselves, was a matter of perfect indifference, for that, in either case, we had determined not to give them a single *parā*. However, two or three men still stuck close to our skirts, but conducted themselves very civilly; and we promised to employ them, should we need any guides on the morrow.

DXLVIII. At *Tameia* the principal objects of curiosity are the remains of the extensive reservoir and water-works, by means of which all the fields in the vicinity were formerly irrigated. Pococke, in whose time this reservoir was still perfect, seems to have inferred, from the information of the natives, that it was quite a recent work, constructed in consequence of the gradual filling up of the canal; which originally, he supposed, conveyed from the Nile suffi-

cient water for the purposes of agriculture. But in this he appears to be mistaken; for, since the beds of the canals, everywhere, perhaps, in the *Fayoom*, are higher than the level of the river, still more of the lake, reservoirs, or sluices, must always have been necessary, to prevent the watercourses from becoming absolutely dry. To those who may imagine that the canals were formerly of much greater depth, it will be sufficient to observe that, in the neighbourhood of *Tameia*, at least, the supposition is impossible, since the water, which is nowhere half-leg deep, now runs like a natural rivulet, among pebbles and fragments of stone over the living rock. On either shore of this tiny stream the alluvial deposit, left by the inundation, which did not rise a foot above the level of the water, was in many places cultivated, and covered with a good crop of corn. The banks on both sides are high, and lined at intervals with masonry; while massive ruins and substructions, whose use it seemed difficult to divine, are scattered about in various directions. A dam, or wall, of immense height and thickness, well supported externally by a number of enormous buttresses, was formerly thrown across the valley; for, from its great breadth and depth it deserves the name; — but this has been partly overthrown and swept away by some resistless flood, leaving a gap, towards the centre, of about forty yards across. Other water-works, of inferior dimensions and importance, exist close to this, on the western bank of the canal; and, apparently, are still available in irrigation. The canals by which this part of the *Fayoom* is fer-

tilised, do not, as Pococke imagined, communicate directly with the Nile; being minor branches of the *Bahr Youssouff*, running off from the main stream in the neighbourhood of *Hawara*, and *Senofer*, passing some by *Saylek*, *Sirsin*, and *Maátli*, and others by *Masloob*, *el Massera*, and *Zirbi*. Extensive tracts of land, formerly cultivated to the east of these canals, are now neglected, and gradually, through lack of moisture, crumbling into sand, and mingling with the desert, which at present seems to be every where gaining ground.

DXLIX. About the bed of the canal were numerous water-fowl, such as wild ducks, curlews, snipes, and siksaks, skimming to and fro, and uttering their plaintive screams; but as it seemed probable we should have other use for our arms, we did not fire at them. The stream, diminutive but rapid, ran in limpid purity through a channel sometimes rocky, sometimes lined with a mossy grass, rippling, murmuring, or breaking in tiny cascades over abrupt descents in its bed. We pursued its course for two or three miles, in the hope of discovering some genuine remnant of antiquity, or that remarkable opening, whether natural or artificial, by which lake Mœris is said to have flowed, during six months of the year, into the Nile. In the latter expectation we were disappointed; nothing resembling such a channel appeared; and observing that sunset was drawing near, after which, in the present insurrectionary state of the province, it might not be quite prudent

to be found far from the villages, we desisted from further search. Before we quitted the channel of the canel, a wild beast, which Monro conceived to be a hyæna, appeared in one of the breaks on the opposite bank; but, whatever it was, it very quietly, on our approach, made its escape into the desert. On attaining an elevated point of the undulating plain, west of the stream, I caught the first glimpse of Lake Mœris, magnificently stretching away from east to west, crimsoned all over by the setting sun, and glittering like a sea of molten amethyst. To obtain a more extensive view of this glorious prospect, we climbed to the top of a ruined Sheïkh's tomb, — such as are found picturesquely scattered over all the desert parts of Egypt, — and from thence beheld what, if it be really, as antiquity believed, artificial, must incontestably be regarded as the greatest, most poetical, and sublime of all the works of the Egyptian kings. My thoughts, by a very intelligible transition, were immediately hurried away to the shores of lake Leman, which accidental circumstances caused me to esteem the most sacred spot on earth; and this ideal association, causing my heart to leap, and my blood to run more rapidly through my veins, communicated, imperceptibly perhaps, to the scene before me, a beauty, a grandeur, an enchaining interest, which, in the estimation of many other travellers, it may not appear to possess: and to the same source may possibly be traced much of the melancholy pleasure I afterwards experienced in wandering along its wild and solitary shores. But,

independently of any consideration connected with my personal feelings, this noble lake must always be regarded with a kind of enthusiasm. Those vast basins scooped out by the hand of nature on the surface of our globe, however immense they may be, excite in us no wonder, since we know that to the Power which created them all things are possible; but when we behold something similar effected by the genius and labour of man, producing a remarkable and permanent feature in the external configuration of the world, it seems lawful to experience something like exultation, while we reflect that, however feeble and transitory we may be, it is still within our competency, when seconded by the co-operation of others, to construct for the admiration and benefit of future ages monuments little less durable, perhaps, than the world itself.

DL. Near the saint's tomb, the ruins of which afforded us so fine a view of the lake, we observed, in a field formerly cultivated, fragments of two red granite columns *, most exquisitely polished, and, if the word be admissible, *scolloped* instead of fluted. Some great public edifice, palace or temple, must therefore have formerly existed near this spot, of which further traces might probably be discovered by

* Excepting at Alexandria, granite columns are of rare occurrence in Egypt; but Belzoni was wrong in supposing that, in this province, they occur nowhere, excepting at *Medinet*, and near the pyramids of the *Fayoom*. Though the sanctuary at *Karnak* is, perhaps, an exception, it may, in general, be said that the structures in which they are found are of comparatively modern date.

excavation; but for this, even in more tranquil times a military escort would, perhaps, be necessary. On returning to the caravanserai, we found a mob collected round the Bedouin horseman at the gateway; but, with what intentions, it was impossible to ascertain. Though it was evident, from their looks, that they regarded us with no kindly eye, yet, on our approach, they made way, and allowed us to take peaceable possession of our room. The agitation now prevailing among this savage populace had an aspect altogether revolutionary: deserting their homes, and putting off those domestic habits, to which, under ordinary circumstances, they are attached, they seemed to be in momentary expectation of some exciting event, which might apparently justify them in taking up arms, and plunging into excesses. Our apartment, situated on the ground-floor, close to the gate, having no door, exposed us to the perpetual gaze of the multitude, continually passing and repassing. By day the wretched place received light through several holes in the roof and walls, which now admitted the cold evening air; while overhead, a goat was running to and fro, shaking down upon our heads showers of dirt and straw, with which it was fortunate that no scorpions were mingled. Dinner being ready, we sat down on the beds, and placing the plates upon our knees, despatched our meal thus, by the light of a small lamp stuck in the floor; while the insolent crowd, wholly different from the peasants in the Valley of the Nile, filled the doorway, staring and laughing in the rudest manner.

At this moment a number of soldiers, who had just traversed the desert, arrived at the caravanserai; upon which the Bedouin sentinel disappeared, as if by magic; and the mob slinking away from about the entrance, tranquillity was for the time restored. However, it was possible that the place might still be assaulted during the night, in order, as at *Sanhoor*, to cut off the soldiers; and therefore, when the great gate of the caravanserai had been shut, and we lay down to sleep, our brave and faithful *Atouni* guide, wakeful and vigilant, as accustomed to the sudden surprises and night attacks of a desert life, placed himself across the doorway, that, should any attempt be made upon us, the assailants might have to pass, in the first instance, over his body. Fatigued and drowsy, it was not long before we fell asleep; and no disturbance occurred during the night to interrupt our slumbers.

CHAPTER IX.

EGYPTIAN MERCHANTS — HABIT OF EARLY RISING — RICHNESS OF THE SOIL — BEAUTY OF LAKE MŒRIS — PHYSICAL ENJOYMENT — ARRIVE AT SENOORIS — CURIOSITY AND SUPERSTITION OF THE INHABITANTS — HIDDEN TREASURES — GHOULS AND VAMPIRES — POVERTY AND MISERY — HATRED OF THE PASHA — VIEWS OF THE WESTERN BEDOUINS — HIRE AN ADDITIONAL GUIDE — ADVANCE ALONG THE SHORES OF THE LAKE — RECONNOITRED BY THE BEDOUINS — FEUDS OF THE ARABS — INTRICACY OF THE CAMEL TRACKS — REBEL TOWN OF SANHOOR — NEW GUIDES — DESCEND TO THE LAKE — SOLITUDE AND GRANDEUR OF THE SCENE — FABLE OF CHARON — AQUATIC BIRDS — PRODIGIOUS QUANTITIES OF DEAD FISH — WATER OF THE LAKE — RETURN TOWARDS SANHOOR — ARE PURSUED BY THE BEDOUINS — A PARLEY — EFFECT OUR ESCAPE — FEATURES OF THE LANDSCAPE — OLIVE PLANTATIONS — FEDMIN — ARE OVERTAKEN BY THE NIGHT — NUMEROUS CANALS — EXTENSIVE WATER-WORKS — ARRIVAL AT MEDINET — THE CARAVANSERAI.

Thursday, March 8. *Medinet.*

DLI. HAD the *Moggrebyns* stormed the *okella* that night, they would have acquired considerable booty, it being filled with merchants, chiefly inhabitants of the province, returning with the goods they had purchased at Cairo. Most of these persons, as is the custom in the East, were stirring and preparing to depart at an extremely early hour; and when, shortly after dawn, the gates were opened, recommenced their journey. Our *Atouni* guide, whose "green

old age" had left him all the vigour and activity of youth, was on foot with the earliest of them, and engaged in saddling and loading the dromedaries. Nothing so much contributes, I imagine, to the habit of early rising, so universal in the East, as their custom of lying on the ground, and never undressing when they go to rest; for it requires no effort to rise early, when you have only to put on your slippers, and adjust your turban,—if you happen to wear one,—in order to be ready for a journey; and where, besides, the air is so pleasant that it is a luxury to be abroad. All things being ready, we departed from *Tameia* immediately after sunrise; and our dromedaries fresh, and naturally swift-paced, soon overtook the long strings of laden camels and asses, proceeding towards the interior, which had quitted the caravanserai so much earlier. Their road lying towards *Medinet*, we very quickly left them behind, and struck off into a different track, in the direction of *Senooris* and the lake. The country in the immediate neighbourhood of *Tameia* consists of a rich alluvial soil, which would repay the labours of the husbandman with abundant harvests, but it seems to have been long abandoned, and was now in an entirely uncultivated state. We very soon entered, however, upon a plain smiling and fertile, intersected by innumerable small canals, along the banks of which ran high causeways, serving as roads, and forming the only links of communication between the village during the time of the inundation. In many places, the water still remained in small pools, bordered with

rushes and tufted reeds, constituting an interesting feature in a plain of matchless beauty, clothed with vegetation; — tender young corn, wheat in the ear, lupines, clover, beans, all in flower, enamelling the fields, and impregnating the whole air with fragrance. Towards the right, through breaks in the date forests, and the thick undergrowth of tamarisks and mimosas, we occasionally, in riding along, caught hasty glimpses of the calm shining surface of the lake, with the sterile crags and wide wastes of sand which form its northern shore. Never, at any period of my life, — except, perhaps, on the day that saw me wandering among the barren mountains of Messenia in the Peloponnesus, — did I derive, from the presence of mere inanimate objects, a delight so perfect, so capable of absorbing the thoughts and filling the whole mind, so replete with poetical enjoyment, so intense and rapturous, as I experienced during this morning's ride. The landscape appeared to comprehend every element of interest and beauty: a plain of unrivalled richness and fertility, exhibiting each various shade of verdure, intersected by streams of water, sprinkled with tufted groves, disclosing between their foliage the rural village, and the towering minaret; beyond these the artificial sea of Mœris, quivering and glittering in the sun; and, in the distance, forming the majestic back-ground of the picture, a range of rocky mountains, of commanding elevation, arid, frowning, desolate, but invested with an air of gloomy grandeur highly congenial to the state of mind in which I viewed them. To these

mute physical sources of pleasures, others of a moral nature were added. History and fable had united in peopling the spot with numerous interesting reminiscences; but, more than each and all of these, extending in an almost continuous line along the edge of the lake, was a series of Bedouin encampments, the dwelling-places of that redoubtable cavalry of the desert, which had defied and broken the power of Persian, and Greek, and Roman, and Turk; and although, in the actual posture of affairs, we were not without apprehension from their marauding character, the consideration by no means diminished the pleasurable excitement of the moment.

DLII. About nine o'clock we halted at a small caravanserai, standing near the cemetery, in the outskirts of *Senooris**; and while Abou Zaid was engaged in kindling a fire and preparing coffee, our active old Bedouin proceeded into the village in search of milk. The inhabitants, little accustomed to the visits of strangers, seeing us dismount from our camels, came flocking thither in crowds which increased every moment. Our dress and appearance, which had elsewhere excited no attention, seemed to them an object of wonder; and my writing apparatus, viewed with some degree of suspicion in all parts of Egypt, called forth so many extraordinary

* Belzoni considers this town to be ten miles distant from the Lake; but it is difficult to conceive how he fell into this extraordinary error, the real distance being barely four miles.

remarks, and was beheld with so many evident signs of disapprobation and alarm, that it appeared judicious to make no further use of it in their sight, lest it should draw upon us some unpleasant consequences. In Europe, more especially in the sceptical atmosphere of large cities, even the vulgar affect to be delivered from the terrors of superstition and the belief in the force of charms and talimans; though, were the matter probed to the bottom, the old leaven might still perhaps be found lurking in the recesses of their souls; but in the East, ignorance has not yet learned to conceal its deformity behind the mask of philosophy. What they believe and apprehend, that they profess to apprehend and believe. Dissimulation, on such subjects, is above their reach. It was, therefore, as I have said, not without terror and dislike that they observed me writing, and consulting certain books and maps, all which things they ingeniously regard as the implements of a magician; and at length, in order to put a stop to my diabolical machinations, it was hinted that the drift of our proceedings was perfectly well understood; that we were come to take away the gold which, according to them, lies concealed in great abundance in the earth on the shores of Lake Mœris. We were supposed to be in possession of a book, by the reading of which, in the vicinity of buried treasures, we could cause the ground to open, and attract the gold to the surface; which, they assured us, had, to their knowledge, been done by a famous magician who had

visited the province some years ago. This is their only idea of the use of books. In order to tranquillize their minds respecting their hidden treasures, I shut up all my magical instruments, and, quitting the caravanserai, strolled forth among the tombs in the cemetery. But this was making a transition from bad to worse. Ghouls and vampires, in the shape of men, delight to roam about amid graves and sepulchres, where, at certain periods of the day or night, they unearth the dead and feed upon their corpses; and, to judge by their looks, the good people of *Senooris* seemed not to be entirely exempt from the suspicion that we might possibly belong to that infernal order of beings. When, however, they beheld us sit down to breakfast in front of the caravanserai, and make use, like Mussulmans, of coffee and bread, their ideas took another direction, and they seemed, poor creatures! to envy us every mouthful we ate. They, in fact, acknowledged that the oppression and rapacity of the Pasha's government had reduced them to a state of starvation; observing that, at length, the old prophecy was fulfilled, the father's hand being turned against the child, and the child's against the father, food being now all they thought of; that honest men, instigated by hunger, and beholding their wives and little ones pining and perishing around them through want, had become robbers, and infested the roads, on which assaults and murders were daily committed; and that Mohammed Ali, — "upon whom," exclaimed they, "be the curse of God!" — with his

monopolies and ambition, was the cause of all their calamities. On the rebellion of the Moggrebyn Bedouins they appeared to dwell with satisfaction, as if they hoped, through their aid, to recover their independence, and see better days. It is possible, therefore, they may have somewhat exaggerated their forces, the extent of their political views, and the terror of their arms; but, whether this was the case or not, it was quite clear, from every view of their account, that we had entered the Fayoom at a peculiarly inauspicious moment, and could neither retreat nor advance, in any direction, without running imminent risk of being murdered; for the western Arabs, taking advantage of the discontents of the people, the absence of the Pasha's military forces in Syria and the Hejaz, and crediting, or feigning to credit, the report of the arrival of an English and French fleet at Alexandria, for the purpose of deposing Mohammed Ali, had poured themselves in from the desert in vast bodies, encamped close to the towns, or spread themselves in marauding parties through the country, everywhere setting at defiance the authority of government. Though relying, perhaps, upon the support of the Moggrebyns, and, for the moment, fearing nothing from the Pasha, the people of *Senooris*, unlike their brethren of *Tameia*, behaved — if we except their aversion to our talismans —with exemplary civility, running eagerly to fetch from the village whatever we wanted, and accepting with thankfulness the trifles given them in return for their services. By the time we had ended

our meal, however, and prepared to remount, the crowd which had collected round us was considerable; though their manners underwent no change. They merely ventured to advise us, in a friendly manner, not to advance any farther into the country, which we should find teeming with difficulties and dangers; but not knowing what degree of credit to yield to their reports, and unwilling to turn back for what might afterwards appear to be but a vain rumour, we declined following their counsel, and inquired whether there was any one among them who, for a handsome present, would undertake to be our guide to the turbulent town of *Sanhoor* and the lake. The idea appeared absurd, and they allowed us to ride away without a guide; but we had scarcely turned the eastern extremity of the town, before a young man of bold but prepossessing countenance presented himself, offering to conduct us whithersoever we might desire; and to his fidelity and good-sense, we were, I verily believe, indebted, before the sun went down, for our lives.

DLIII. *Senooris* is a considerable town, possessing a handsome mosque, adorned with a lofty minaret; but, in accordance with the practice everywhere prevailing in Egypt, its environs are deformed by enormous mounds of filth and rubbish, between which a canal winds its way through a deep broad channel towards the north. In proceeding towards *Zaouya*, the lake was constantly visible, unless when the view was intercepted by trees. Occasionally the

windings of the canal-track conducted us into the immediate vicinity of the Moggrebyn encampments, from which we at length saw a small party of horse detach itself, and move westward, parallel with our route, evidently for the purpose of reconnoitring our movements. Perceiving the difficulties of our position, it might, perhaps, have been prudent to have abandoned the idea of descending to the shores of the lake, — of which we could command, from the point where we then stood, an admirable prospect, — and have directed our course by the nearest route towards Medinet. But it was for the purpose of beholding the creation of Mœris that we had principally desired to visit the Fayoom; and to have returned without tasting its waters, and contemplating at leisure the wild beauties of its shores, would have grieved us exceedingly. Besides, in all intercourse with savages, it has been observed, that less danger is incurred by advancing carelessly and confidently among them, than by manifesting symptoms of dread; and therefore, without appearing to observe the hostile demonstrations of the "Sons of Ismael," we continued to pursue our original plan. Now, however, our stout-hearted old *Atouni* began, not altogether without reason, to entertain apprehensions for the safety of his camels; — if he felt any for his own, he was too proud to own it; — and, lifting up his hands, bewailed the poor beasts, as if they were already lost. Between his tribe and the Moggrebyns of the *Fayoom* there existed, he said, a blood-feud; and they would certainly not let slip the present occasion

of satiating their rancorous and hereditary hatred. I observed, however, that he made no mention of turning back, either conceiving it to be too late, or from the natural predilection of his whole race for strife and bloodshed. Many causes combined to render our progress slow and irksome. Owing to the infinite number of small canals, which intersect the country in all directions, the camel-track meanders in the most extraordinary manner; now leading towards the north, and now towards the south. Frequently, it became necessary to dismount, and force or coax the dromedaries to leap the ditches which crossed our path; and, on one occasion, fortunately when no person was on his back, one of them fell, and rolled into the canal, from whence we had some difficulty to extricate him. At *Zaouya*, where we paused to make some passing inquiries, our Caireen domestic was on the point of seriously compromising us, by informing the inhabitants, through the vanity of being supposed to belong to the service of persons in authority, that we were officers of the Pasha, proceeding through the country in the execution of our duty; which, since all these people were in league with the enemy, would, in all probability have effected our destruction. Understanding quite enough of Arabic to detect the purport of his discourse, we questioned him on the subject; and finding our suspicion well founded, he was directed to contradict his former statement, and forbidden to propagate such a report for the future, on pain of being instantly shot.

DLIV. Continuing to advance in a westerly direction, and passing through the villages of *Bayheeth* and *Tirseh*, we at length arrived at the rebel town of *Sanhoor*, where, a few days before, had taken place the battle, in which the Pasha's forces had been worsted by the Bedouins. It is, in fact, an extensive village, buried in a forest of date trees, and partly surrounded by a deep watercourse. The canals of the Fayoom, though, at this season of the year, extremely shallow, have all the characteristic beauties of natural rivulets, running, for the most part, down gentle declivities, in a winding course, rippling and transparent, in many places over gravelly bottoms, between banks fringed with slender reeds or willows. On drawing near the town, we perceived a number of people engaged in a very noisy quarrel among the rubbish mounds; but we received no molestation; on the contrary, an old man, with a venerable grey beard, who professed to be well acquainted with the country round the lake, came voluntarily forward, offering to be our guide. Having accepted his services, we were shortly afterwards joined by two other Arabs, who likewise, without further ceremony, constituted themselves our guides; so that, being attended by four gentlemen of this profession, not to mention our Mahazi Bedouin, there was little danger of losing our way.

DLV. On emerging from the date woods of *Sanhoor*, we observed that the land sloped gradually to the water's edge, and was covered, in the imme-

diate vicinity of the town, with wheat, barley, and trefoil, and, further on, with *halfah* grass and copses of tamarisk. The view of the sea of Mœris, with its wild picturesque shores, was now peculiarly grand. Equalling in breadth the Lake of Geneva between Rolles and Thonon, but differing in its accessories from every thing in Europe, it seemed to have been created for the purpose of awakening in the mind the spirit of poetry. Alpine peaks, with glaciers and eternal snows, are here not found, to rouse and elevate the imagination; but, in their stead, something no less sublime, no less calculated to suggest lofty and ennobling trains of thought, to carry the mind beyond the limits of the every-day world, and, by rendering it conversant with the stupendous aspect of nature, in the burning boundless desert, the sun-scorched mountain, the abandoned plain, the unnavigated wave, to induce a habit of contentment and serenity, images of a novel character, and a love of whatever is gifted with the irresistible attributes of beauty. Towards the east, the opposite shore is low, consisting of a series of undulating sand-hills, which, as the eye turns westward, give place to rocky eminences, rising gradually into mountains, barren and wild, extending westward to the extreme verge of the horizon. Between this arid chain, and the traveller who contemplates it from the verdant plains of the *Fayoom*, lies the Lake of Mœris *, which, on the

* By the Arabs this lake is denominated *Birket el Keroon*, or, the "Lake of the Horns;" for what reason is uncertain; but, from this name (*Keroon*), which is evidently modern, Belzoni, with singular

morning of our visit, glittered in the sun like a sea of molten silver, and, neither of its extremities being visible, seemed to be of interminable extent. After pausing some time to enjoy the distant prospect, we alighted from our camels, and, leaving them to browse upon the plain, walked down to the beach, which I approached with more true pleasure than I had any where else experienced in Egypt. Though a cool breeze, blowing across the lake, somewhat tempered the heat of the sun, it was fortunately not sufficient to chill the atmosphere, the temperature of which greatly exceeded that of July in Europe. Every thing, therefore, contributed to augment our enjoyment. Absolute solitude prevailed on all sides. Our camels and attendants being concealed from sight by copses and thickets, and the distant villages,—here exceedingly few,—by lofty woods; nothing presented itself to the eye which could suggest a re-

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ingenuity, derives the name and fable of Charon; a fable belonging to a mythology totally different from that of Egypt, and which prevailed in a distant country, in times preceding the birth of history. But the honour of this discovery does not belong to the Italian traveller; for, strange to say, our able and learned countryman, Pococke, had long before given birth to the idea. "The common people here, says he, have strong traditions about Caroon (*i. e.* 'Horns,'); they say he was a king, and had keys to his treasures that loaded two hundred camels. One would imagine from this that the fable of Charon might have its rise here, and that this name might be the title of the chief person who had the care of the labyrinth, and of the sepulchres in and about it, and kept the keys of these numerous apartments," &c., vol. i. pp. 65, 66. Though entertaining a high respect for Pococke, I can scarcely conceive any thing more unphilosophical than this conceit, of deriving from the traditions of the Arabs one of the most ancient fables in the mythology of Greece.

ference to human society. Enormous flights of aquatic birds — pelicans, wild ducks, gulls, petrels, and white ibises — were here seen, some rising, others lighting on the shores, or swimming on the lake. In the grass, almost under our feet, were numerous coveys of partridges; and, when we had reached the beach, both sight and smell were struck by prodigious numbers of dead fish, which having, as the natives afterwards informed us, recently perished through cold, had been driven on shore by a tempestuous north wind. The quantity was incredible, lining the shore in heaps as far as the eye could reach, as if a multitude of fishermen had just emptied their nets there. They were exceedingly varied in form and size; some measuring nearly five feet in length, and of more than proportionate thickness, — and of these many hundreds lay among the smaller fry upon the mud, — while others were scarcely larger than a herring. In general the larger were closer to the water, the smaller, in many instances, having been carried by the waves twenty or thirty yards inland. The stench arising from so great a quantity of fish putrifying in the sun was almost insupportable, and must have communicated a pestilential quality to the atmosphere. Nevertheless, as soon as we found a practicable part of the beach, Monro, impatient of the heat, bathed in the lake; while I contented myself with tasting the water, and strolling along the shore. Whatever may be the depth towards the middle, the water is extremely shallow near the land; it being necessary, on this part of the coast, to advance

several hundred yards before sufficient water to swim in can be found; and the bottom, in most places, consisting of a soft mud, such as is everywhere deposited by the Nile, it is by no means adapted for bathing. I found the water of a brackish taste; not to the degree mentioned by Pococke, who thought it "almost as salt as the sea;" but quite enough to render it disagreeable, though not undrinkable. As far as we proceeded, which may perhaps have been about two miles, the quantity of fish upon the beach continued undiminished; so that the account furnished by the priests to Herodotus of the value of the fisheries of Lake Mœris does not seem to have been exaggerated *; for, judging by appearances, they would furnish food to half Egypt. All this part of the shore is adorned with slender tamarisk bushes, covered, in many cases, with red catkins, like the willow, which, drooping and waving over the water, rendered

* Diodorus Siculus observes, that twenty-two different sorts of fish are found in this lake. Though we did not count the several species now lying on the shore, I make no doubt they exceeded this number; for there are twenty-nine kinds of fish in the Lake of Geneva, which is infinitely less pisculent than that of Mœris. The revenues derived by the ancient kings of Egypt from the fisheries were very considerable. "The fishery here carried on, says Herodotus, furnishes the royal treasury with a talent of silver every day; but as soon as the Nile begins to pour its waters into the lake, it produces no more than twenty minæ." Euterpe, cxlix. Elsewhere he observes, that the Nile flowed into the lake during six months. Estimating, therefore, the produce of the lake at a talent per day for the first six months, we have 35,359*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*; and for the remaining six, 13,079*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*: or 48,438*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.* per annum. At present the fisheries of the lake and the Bahr Youssouff are farmed at 500 purses per annum; or about 4000*l.* Sterling.

the beach highly beautiful. The boat that formerly conveyed persons to the opposite shore of the lake had long been destroyed; but an Arab, who lived some leagues further to the west, was said still to possess a small bark, which might easily be hired. In the present state of the country, however, covered with marauding Moggrebyns and rebel camps, it was judged unsafe to quit the camels and baggage; and we had very soon reason to congratulate ourselves on our determination.

DLVI. Having remained some time on the beach, we were joined by our guides and attendants, who had been left with the camels, and now appeared uneasy at our delay. As, however, they avoided stating any reasons, we paid little attention to their disquietude, which might arise from mere impatience; but at length, observing that the day was far spent, and no new object of curiosity presenting itself, we quitted the lake, and began to retrace our steps towards *Sanhoor*. To the left were many Bedouin encampments, near which several troops of cavalry had been seen passing to and fro during the day; nevertheless, as they had hitherto abstained from offering us any molestation, we began to imagine that it might, after all, be possible to effect our retreat out of the province without meeting with any difficulty. We had not, however, proceeded above a mile, before a small body of horse, armed with muskets and lances, issuing from among the date woods, made towards us

at full gallop. Our Mahazi guide, who first perceived them, without exhibiting the slightest sign of trepidation, though quite unarmed, requested us to ride close together, trotting on as if we saw them not, but keeping our fire-arms in our hands, cocked ready for action. My dromedary being a female, big with young, and greatly fatigued by the violent manner in which we had travelled, now lagged in the rear; so that, had not Monro slackened his pace, to allow me time to come up, I might have been easily cut off from the rest of the party. When the Moggrebyns had approached to within a few hundred yards of our course, two horsemen, detached from the main body, advanced to question us, the remainder halting where they were. Galloping at full speed, they called aloud, on coming within hearing, that the Pasha's government being at an end, the Bedouins were now lords of Egypt, and that as, no doubt, we were partisans of the Pasha, they should make war upon and destroy us. The guides who had joined us at *Sanhoor*, either taking no interest in our fate, or reckoning on sharing the spoil should we be speared by the enemy, walked doggedly along without uttering a word; but the youth from Senooris, after beating my dromedary into a trot, remained behind, in order to confer with our pursuers. At first they insisted we belonged to the Pasha's service, and had been sent by that cunning despot to observe their movements and numbers, that he might know how and with what force to attack them, in the vain hope of recovering

possession of the province; and that, therefore, they could not, without betraying their own cause, allow us to return in safety to Cairo. To this our guide made answer, that we were mere travellers, whose sole business it was to run about the world, measuring the length and breadth of rivers, and the circumference of seas; observing the buildings which ancient nations had left behind them; and inquiring into what every man ate and drank; that, in short, we were Englishmen, who had never been known, like other Franks, to make war upon or kidnap the natives for the Pasha. The men of Sanhoor now joining in this representation, they were at length convinced we were Englishmen; who, thank God! seem to be every where respected for their honour and integrity. Relinquishing, therefore, their hostile design, they suffered us to proceed on our way in peace.

DLVII. From the borders of the lake to *Medinet el Fayoom*, is between twelve and thirteen miles; and the day already drawing towards its close, we at first entertained the intention of passing the night at *Sanhoor*. But the inhabitants being in league with the Arabs of the desert, a different party of whom might arrive in the village,—where the Pasha possessed not a single soldier, perhaps not a single partisan,—and quietly cut us off during the night. To advance, after dark, was likewise hazardous; for, our camels being nearly knocked up, and the roads intricate and intersected by canals, should our guide fail us, we might be left to wander all night through a country

infested by marauding parties and dangerous even by day. However, having much faith in the young man, we determined to rely wholly on his fidelity, and desired him to proceed, by the nearest route, towards the capital of the province. Hitherto, we had beheld neither the rose-gardens nor the olive plantations for which the *Fayoom* has always been celebrated; but, shortly after quitting *Sanhoor*, we entered on a country exhibiting considerable irregularity of surface, covered in many parts by groves of olive trees, extending along and shading the road. The general features of the landscape were here exceedingly beautiful, every turn of the path-way presenting a new vista, between woods and copses, over fields exquisitely green, and ending, perhaps, with the prospect of some distant village. But this part of the province, though highly fertile, is thinly peopled, the villages being few and distant from each other; and, as in all countries where property and life are insecure, no scattered villas, farms, or cottages, are anywhere seen. About sunset we arrived at *Fedmin*; where Belzoni, building, as usual, on a popular tradition, supposes the labyrinth may have been situated. The tradition, however, relates to three hundred Christian churches,—the dream, in all probability, of some ignorant Copt;—but if we multiply three hundred by ten, we shall have three thousand, out of which there will be no difficulty in erecting a labyrinth. Proceeding in this way, nothing can arrest our progress; traditions, in Egypt, will always be at hand,

in support of any hypothesis: we shall only have to adapt them to our particular purposes. Still, it is probable that *Fedmin* stands on the site of some ancient town, the mounds of dust and rubbish—the the constant accompaniment of an Egyptian village, among which, however, we could see no substructions, bricks, or remains of ancient buildings—being here larger and more numerous than usual. A canal, with a very deep channel, but no great quantity of water, runs close to the village on the east.

DLVIII. Night came on shortly after we had passed *Fedmin:* there was no moon, but the stars shone brightly, affording considerable light, by which we continued to prosecute our journey. Nevertheless, from the hesitating manner of our guide, when there were several paths branching off in different directions, it was evident, though he would not confess it, that he was but imperfectly acquainted with the way. We moreover began, as well as our beasts, to experience some fatigue, having been about fourteen hours on the road; and the idea of passing the night at some of the hamlets on the left, the situation of which we could discover by the lights burning in the cottages, at length presented itself: but while we were discussing the point and inquiring into the merits of the different villages, we met a party of Turkish soldiers, marching upon *Fedmin*, who said that another half hour would bring us to *Medinet*. Though not unacquainted with the length of an Egyptian half hour, we now abandoned the design of stopping short of

Medinet, and pushed on with all speed. All this part of the *Fayoom* is intersected in a wonderful manner with canals, which everywhere in Egypt, and more particularly in this province, present, as I have before observed, the appearance of natural rivers, possessing picturesquely wooded banks, meandering courses, and streams of clear water, alternately deep and shallow, with a rippling current always perceptible. Along the edges of such canals, our road frequently lay over narrow footpaths worn in the face of their lofty steep banks, where one false step would have precipitated us into the water below. The night being much too dark to pretend to guide the dromedaries, which had the same motive as ourselves for guarding against accidents, we were fain to trust to them entirely the care of our necks. No less sure-footed than the mule, they proved themselves well worthy of the confidence we reposed in them, mounting and descending the steepest eminences without slipping or stumbling. Here, we were told, the famous rose-gardens are situated; but the roses were not yet in bloom, so that, even had we not traversed the country in the dark, they would have added less to the beauty of the prospect than so many gooseberry bushes. However, the cultivation of the rose, and the manufacture of *attar*, are still conducted on a large scale in the *Fayoom*, where the rose plantations of one European speculator occupy thirty thousand acres.

DLIX. As we approached *Medinet*,—which,

from the spot where we met with the soldiers, was more than twice the distance they stated,—the canals became larger, and the locks, sluices, and bridges more frequent. To thread the winding camel-track between the numerous arms of these vast water-works was an undertaking of some nicety, our path frequently leading over the top of a narrow causeway, thrown across extensive reservoirs; while all around was heard the noise of water falling over the dams and sluices into deep canals. At length, on arriving among the mounds encumbering its environs, supposed to mark the site of the ancient Crocodilopolis, or Arsinoë, we heard the barking of dogs in the city, and, just as the muezzins were chaunting the "Turk," entered the gates; which, in all Mohammedan countries, are then closed for the night. *Medinet* would appear to be a populous town. The streets, when we entered, were crowded, the shops open and tolerably well lighted, indicating considerable business and activity. Our appearance — particularly Monro's Frank costume and hat — excited much curiosity, and numbers of idle persons and boys followed us towards the caravanserai; where we found a good upper room to sleep in. The stairs and walls of this building contained several fragments of granite and marble, some of which were covered with hieroglyphics and Egyptian bas-reliefs. While dinner was preparing, the keeper of the caravanserai, an old Arab of jolly jocund countenance, paid us a visit, and related the news of the day, in the hope, apparently, of being paid in kind. According to his account, the

affair with the Moggrebyns had been far more important than we had hitherto supposed: learning that marauding parties were daily pouring in from the desert, and spreading themselves over the country, the mamoor, or governor of the province, had proceeded, with all the forces he commanded, towards the lake, where he found the enemy encamped. There an action took place, in which, after some loss on both sides, the Bedouins were worsted, and compelled to fly, with their wives and children, leaving their camels, cattle, sheep, &c. behind them. Upon these, as on lawful plunder, the mamoor immediately made seizure, and was about to march away with them, when the Arabs, in the hope of recovering their property, attacked him suddenly, but were a second time beaten off, though not without loss on the side of the governor; who, fearing they might once more return, in greater force, hastened with all possible celerity towards *Medinet*, where he arrived, with his booty, before dark, and caused the gates to be closed, after which he began to congratulate himself upon his victory. But the affair was not yet over; for about midnight, the Bedouins, who had all the way hovered at a distance in his rear, broke open the gates, entered the city in great numbers, and, by the connivance or through the terror of the inhabitants, recovered the whole of their flocks and herds, with which they departed, without committing any other act of hostility. Ashamed of his negligence, or distrustful of the disposition of the inhabitants, the governor had from that day abstained from going abroad, and still

remained in voluntary confinement in his own palace; but Ahmed Pasha, late governor of the *Hejaz*, was said to have arrived with a large military force at *Benisooëf*, on his way to the *Fayoom;* where his presence, it was expected, would speedily put a stop to the depredations and absurd hopes of the Bedouins.

CHAPTER X.

DEPARTURE FROM MEDINET — VINEYARDS OF THE FAYOOM — ATTAR OF ROSES — PYRAMID OF HAWARA — BED OF THE BAHR YOUSSOUFF — OYSTER-SHELLS — SUPPOSED SITE OF THE LABYRINTH — FRAGMENTS OF ANTIQUITIES — ASCENT OF THE PYRAMID — VIEW OF THE FAYOOM — BRICKS OF THE PYRAMID — BREAKFAST AMONG THE SAND-HILLS — RECONNOITRED BY AN ARAB — GREAT ARM OF THE BAHR YOUSSOUFF — PYRAMID OF ILLAHOON — INTENSE HEAT — CAUSE OF BLINDNESS — PYRAMID OF ASYCHIS BEDOUIN ENCAMPMENT — CHARACTER OF A DESERT LIFE — TENTS OF THE ARABS — TRAVELLING ON DROMEDARIES — SLUICES OF THE BAHR YOUSSOUFF — WATER OF THE NILE — SWARMS OF WINGED ANTS — ARRIVAL AT BENISOOEF — THE CARAVANSERAI — TURKISH SOLDIERS — LODGE IN A SHED.

Friday, March 9. *Benisooëf.*

DLX. At *Medinet*, from which we departed about sunrise, our active and faithful guide from *Senooris* quitted us, seemingly well satisfied with the present we made him. After accompanying us a short distance beyond the city, he struck off into a different path, leading towards his home. Of Arsinoë, or Crocodilopolis, if it really stood here, nothing now remains but heaps of rubbish, among which fragments of columns and ancient bricks are occasionally found. In the neighbourhood are situated the few vineyards which are still kept up in the *Fayoom*. Formerly, it is said, a good white wine was made here;

but this, I believe, is no longer the case, the grapes being sent to Cairo for eating: but, if those which I tasted in November could be regarded as a favourable specimen, very little can be said in praise of them. In this city the rose-water and *attar* are manufactured; but as, of course, the process takes place much later in the spring, we could not witness it. Close to the walls we saw one of the rose-gardens; but the bushes being scarcely in leaf, made a very sorry appearance. Pursuing our journey eastward, crossing several large canals, over bridges of stone, we hastened towards the pyramid of *Hawara;* where the French, and those who have adopted their notions, place the site of the labyrinth. Our progress, however, was slow, the country itself being a real labyrinth, where canals, ditches, morasses, small lakes, — the slender remains of the inundation, — obliged us every moment to turn out of our course, to wind hither and thither; to mount, to descend, to retrace our footsteps, until at length, when our patience was nearly exhausted, we found ourselves near the pyramid. But at this point we were completely stopped, having got entangled in a swamp, from which there appeared no way of extricating ourselves. Our excellent old Bedouin, now our only guide, having never been in this part of the country, the whole day might probably have been wasted in wandering among these delusive bogs, had we not at length discovered a peasant in the fields, whom we tempted, by the promise of a few piastres, to abandon his labour, and become our guide. By his aid we traversed the bed of the great arm of the

Bahr Youssouff, by which, at the season of the inundation, the waters of the Nile are conducted into Lake Mœris, and diffused in innumerable smaller streams over the province, which they fertilise and beautify. In several parts of the channel, now dry, we observed immense quantities of oyster-shells, bright and shining like mother-of-pearl; and excellent oysters, of a particular kind, are caught among the ponds and lagoons, in different parts of the canal, where a bed sufficiently deep is afforded to the water. Having crossed the channel of the Bahr Youssouff, we arrived at a small sandy ridge, formed, perhaps, originally by the earth thrown up out of the canal, parallel with which it runs. Here we dismounted, and directing our attendants to kindle a fire among the sand-hills, and prepare breakfast, proceeded towards the pretended site of the labyrinth; having been carried, on the shoulders of our guides, over a small deep canal, running towards the north along the foot of the pyramid.

DLXI. Between this branch of the Bahr Youssouff and the ruins there is a succession of mounds of considerable height; passing over which, we come to a small plain, extending northward to the foot of the pyramid, evidently the site of some great edifice, or collection of edifices, and thickly strewed with fragments of columns, some of a very beautiful white marble, others of red or blue granite. Nearly all the pillars had been clustered, like those in the hypogea at Benihassan, or in a Gothic cathedral. The sur-

face of the plain resembles in appearance the top of a town overwhelmed by the sand, where the roofs have fallen in, where the walls have been entirely buried, and where pits and slight undulations alone mark the spot, and suggest the idea that human habitations once existed below. But if the labyrinth was situated here, the fifteen hundred chambers erected or excavated beneath the surface of the soil, must still remain; for it is incredible that buildings of such dimensions and solidity, surrounded and supported by the earth, should have wholly disappeared; yet nothing of the kind has been found, though the pits and hollows above described are evidently the burrows of antiquarians, who, in default of hieroglyphics, are compelled to seek the more unequivocal testimony of architectural monuments. Numerous shells, glittering like pearl, and almost calcined by the sun, lie scattered over the sand-heaps among the fragments of ruins. Having minutely examined the scanty remains discoverable above ground, we proceeded to ascend the pyramid, by a steep narrow track at the south-west angle, winding upward through heaps of loose bricks and earth, which slide down from beneath the feet; but on reaching the top, formerly fortified by the Arabs, we enjoyed an immense prospect over the whole of this part of the *Fayoom*, far beyond *Medinet* on one side, and *Illahoon* on the other, across rich green plains, alternating with sandy deserts. At a little distance towards the east, we observed a small Bedouin encampment; and several scattered parties

of Arabs toiling beneath the scorching sun over the waste. Running nearly east and west, between the cultivated country and the sands, were several canals of water, with high banks of earth; but nothing meriting the name of a hill was anywhere visible. The pyramid has been opened on the northern side, where a deep ravine, extending from top to bottom, like a torrent-bed, has been produced by the slovenly excavators. An adit and chambers are said to have been discovered; but the bricks, descending in heaps, and crumbling in their fall, have once more choked up the entrance, and rendered a second excavation necessary. I have nowhere seen larger bricks than those used in the construction of this pyramid; which are seventeen inches in length, eight in breadth, and four and a half in thickness; but, being merely sun-dried, they easily crumble away, and the pyramid, already almost reduced to a shapeless keap, will, in a short time, appear only as an immense barrow.

DLXII. On descending to the plain we walked round the pyramid, close to the northern face of which are the remains of an Arab village, erected with the spoils of the Egyptians; but this also has long fallen to decay, the sands of the desert now creeping over the walls, while all around there is the silence of death. Returning by the way we had come, and breakfasting among the sand-hills on the banks of the canal, we were about to depart, when we observed an Arab reconnoitring our movements from the top of the pyramid. He had probably

intended to offer his services as as a guide, but arrived too late. Our road now lay along the edge of the desert, sometimes passing over a series of lofty mounds, or a raised causeway, running parallel with the great arm of the Bahr Youssouff, which branches forth from the main canal a little to the east of Illahoon. This great artificial river, probably the work of Mœris, having been long neglected, is rapidly filling up. It was now in a great measure dry; but, when filled, during the inundation, with water, must present the appearance of a noble river, rather than of a canal, since, in some parts, it cannot fall short of four or five hundred yards in breadth. The road between *Medinet* and *Benisooëf* appears to be well frequented. All the morning we were constantly passing or meeting with small parties of peasants, some driving camels or asses laden with wood towards the Fayoom, others proceeding with the produce of their lands towards the Nile. In many places the banks of the canals are shaded by fine tall willows, which we found the peasants busily employed in cutting; but what use they make of them I could not learn.

DLXIII. The pyramid of *Illahoon* was already in sight ere we quitted that of *Hawara;* but, owing to the sinuosities of the way, which seemed sometimes to approach, sometimes to recede from the desired point, it was nearly twelve o'clock before we arrived opposite to where it stands. Here we dismounted from our camels, which exhibited signs of

great fatigue, and leaving them to browse on the coarse prickly plants growing upon the skirts of the desert, walked towards the pyramid, across the burning sand, between huge fragments of rock, many of which bore evident marks of the chisel, and through low hollows, where the sun's rays, concentrated and reflected from the earth, were literally scorching. Of more intense heat than this I can form no conception, the rocks and sands appearing to be kindled by the sun, so that we seemed to be walking over the hot cinders of a volcano. Every object around being clothed with insufferable splendour by the dazzling light, descending like a flood upon the desert, it was therefore necessary to move along with half-closed eyes; and from a long journey over a desert of this kind, with no other covering for the head than the Turkish cap which I then wore, opthalmia, if not blindness, would inevitably ensue. On drawing near the pyramid, we immediately observed a striking peculiarity in its appearance: between the dark unburned bricks, with which it seemed to be constructed, we could perceive, on every side, immense blocks of stone projecting through the casing. This circumstance leading me to reflect more maturely on the subject, I was convinced by the observations I afterwards made, that the majority, if not the whole of the pyramids, are merely small natural hills, faced with masonry. To a certain extent, we know this to be the case with that of Cheops, in which the living rock is visible in the interior. At *Sakkarah*, likewise, the same ad-

vantage has been taken of a large rocky nucleus furnished by nature; so that, in the erection of these vast temples of Venus, the Egyptians would appear to have done nothing more than build round a number of those conical hillocks of stone, which are so numerous in this part of the Libyan desert, adding to their bulk and height, and fashioning them so as to represent on all sides the mystic Delta, in whose honour they were constructed. We may thus also account for the seemingly fortuitous manner in which the pyramids are scattered over the face of the waste, and for their remarkable proximity to each other in the case of those of *Ghizeh*. Herodotus relates that Asychis *, desirous of surpassing his predecessors, not by the grandeur or magnificence of his public works, but by the difficulties which he knew how to overcome, erected a pyramid of bricks made with mud drawn up by poles from the bottom of the lake; and that he commemorated his silly achievement on a stone in the face of the pyramid. If the lake intended in this passage was that of Mœris, or the *Bahr Youssouff*,—which seems to have been not unfrequently confounded with the lake,—then the pyramid of Asychis may be that of *Illahoon*, or of

* Ὑπερβαλέσθαι δὲ βουλόμενον τοῦτον τὸν βασιλέα τοὺς πρότερον ἑωϋτοῦ βασιλέας γενομένους Αἰγύπτου, μνημόσυνον πυραμίδα λιπέσθαι, ἐκ πλίνθων ποιήσαντα· ἐν τῇ γράμματα ἐν λίθῳ ἐγκεκολαμμένα τάδε λέγοντά ἐστι, ΜΗ ΜΕ ΚΑΤΟΝΟΣΘΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑΣ ΛΙΘΙΝΑΣ ΠΥΡΑΜΙΔΑΣ. ΠΡΟΕΧΩ ΓΑΡ ΑΥΤΕΩΝ ΤΟΣΟΥΤΟΝ, ΟΣΟΝ Ο ΖΕΥΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΛΛΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ. ΚΟΝΤΩΙ ΓΑΡ ΤΥΠΟΥΠΤΟΝΤΕΣ ΕΣ ΛΙΜΝΗΝ, Ο, ΤΙ ΠΡΟΣΧΟΙΤΟ ΤΟΥ ΠΗΛΟΥ ΤΩΙ ΚΟΝΤΩΙ, ΤΟΥΤΟ ΣΤΑΛΕΓΟΝΤΕΣ, ΠΛΙΝΘΟΥΣ ΕΙΡΥΣΑΝ, ΚΑΙ ΜΕ ΤΡΟΠΩΙ ΤΟΙΟΥΤΩΙ ΕΞΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΝ. *τοῦτον μὲν τοσαῦτα ἀποδέξασθαι.*—l. ii. c. 136.

Hawara; though the inscription nowhere appears. By compelling the people to labour, however, in works of this kind, to the neglect of agriculture and commerce, Asychis reduced his subjects to great poverty and misery; so that, in order to raise money for their subsistence, they were, in many cases, compelled to pawn the dead bodies of their parents. Like the *Haràm el Kedâb*, this pyramid springs up almost perpendicularly from a conical base, and having attained a certain elevation, slopes rapidly to a point. Originally, therefore, it was not possible to ascend to its summit; but by the industry of the Arabs a path has been formed on its southern face, leading in a zigzag direction to the top. Denon considers this the most dilapidated of all the pyramids of Egypt; but it is perhaps less ruinous than that of *Hawara;* and in the desert near *Dashour* and *Sakkarah* there are several structures of this kind already reduced to the shape and appearance of barrows.* No attempt seems to have been made to open a passage into the interior, though it no doubt contains chambers, like the other pyramids; but on the sand, all around its base, we observed the tracks of numerous wheeled carriages, which we found, upon examination, had

* Like those ancient structures in Mexico described by Captain Lyons. "We walked afterwards to see the remains of what the Padre informed me were once Pyramids, and to which the name of 'Cue' is still applied, although they are now nothing more than five or six mounds of earth, of thirty or forty feet in height. They lie westward of the town, near each other, and on the plain around them I found several pieces of obsidian arrow-heads, which must have been brought from a great distance by the warriors who once peopled the banks of the river." — *Journal of a Residence, &c. in Mexico.* Vol. i. pp. 54, 55.

been employed in carrying away stones cut from the north-east corner of the hill, on which it has been erected; so that in all probability it will shortly be undermined and totally overthrown. The stones thus obtained would appear to be used in the public buildings and sluices on the Bahr Youssouff.

DLXIV. On the edge of the desert, near this spot, there was another Bedouin encampment. In the course of the morning we had ridden through two or three similar clusters of tents, the inhabitants of which always greeted us civilly as we passed; but in no instance were we invited to stop, or enter their dwellings, though accompanied by a Bedouin. The appearance of these encampments inspired me with a favourable idea of the nomadic life. Arranged in the form of a half-moon, with their doors, if they may be so called, all turned towards the east, the tents stood sufficiently near each other for the purpose of good neighbourhood, though separated by a space through which their cattle might pass to and fro; while the whole area enclosed between the horns of the crescent, in most cases covered with short grass, formed a sort of lawn, or play-ground for the children of the camp, where they would always be under their mother's eye. No litter, or filth of any kind, polluted the neighbourhood of their dwellings. Great happiness and freedom may certainly be enjoyed in a life of wandering, like that of the Bedouins, where the tribe numbers sufficient young and vigorous members to render it feared or

respected by its enemies. All the affections are brought properly into play: the physical powers are exercised, without being exhausted; and the mind, though deprived of the aids and incentives to exertion supplied by European civilisation, and abandoned more to its own resources, finds in romance, and a certain wild and irregular poetry, pleasures which more cultivated intellects would not, perhaps, disdain to share. The tents are low, but spacious and airy, having at either end something resembling a chimney, which, whatever may be its use, spoils the appearance of the whole. Like the *ábbas*, or outer garments of the men, they are made of a brown and white cloth, the stripes of which are from a foot and a half to three feet in width; but, while the former are of cotton or wool, these are manufactured of camel's hair. By day they are entirely open on one side, so as to expose the whole of the interior, even the part inhabited by the women: for the Bedouins entertain few of those prejudices respecting the sex, which prevail in most parts of the East. Being themselves free, they allow their wives and daughters to enjoy the same liberty; which is very rarely abused. In personal charms, the women of the desert are greatly superior to those of the cultivated country; possessing more delicate features, brighter eyes, and countenances indicative of greater intelligence and vivacity: though I saw none of those beautiful girls described by some travellers, whose judgment, in these matters, was not, perhaps, sufficiently exercised; for, according to European notions, all the Bedouin women are

deficient in that softness, harmony, and elongation of features indispensable to female beauty. In them, as among the men, the characteristic national type is remarkably unvaried; for though, of course, differences in complexion and countenance may be observed, they seem, upon the whole, like the members of one immense family. Both sexes are tattooed,—the men on the arms; the women both on the arms and chin,—with the figures of flowers or stars, or some other fanciful ornament. In every respect these small encampments were highly interesting; for though a number of the men were absent with their flocks and herds, enough remained to confer an air of life and activity upon the scene.

DLXV. I have already observed that the heat of the sun, in the sands near the pyramid, was exceedingly powerful, rendering walking a laborious task; but the moment we mounted our dromedaries, and put them in motion, there again appeared to be an agreeable coolness in the air. In the desert, the camel possesses many decided advantages, as a saddle animal, over the horse; for, in addition to those arising from the peculiarity of its construction, and its capacity to endure privation and fatigue, it places the rider so high above the ground, that the reflection of the sun's rays, nearly intolerable on foot, are scarcely at all felt; while an agreeable freshness is kept up in the air, by the rapidity of its movements. Turning off towards the right, we crossed the bed of the canal of *Illahoon*, over a long causeway, where

wall after wall has been thrown across the channel, for the purpose of retaining water for irrigation; and the ponds and reservoirs thus formed were still far from being exhausted. Proceeding towards the east, we in a short time arrived at a noble bridge of many arches, thrown across the Bahr Youssouff, and intended, not for the use of the peasant or traveller desirous of traversing the canal, but to regulate the quantity of water admitted into the *Fayoom* during the inundation; for which purpose each arch is furnished with a kind of portcullis, which can be lowered or raised, in proportion as more or less water is wanted. This is one of the useful works of the Pasha; and its design and execution are highly creditable to the architect. A small village, containing several public buildings in a state of forwardness, occupies the bank of the canal at the southern extremity of the bridge, erected a little to the east of more ancient water-works, apparently of more massive but less tasteful construction. Returning over the bridge, which we had crossed by mistake, we proceeded along the northern bank of the Bahr Youssouff towards *Benisooëf*.

DLXVI. During the whole of this journey, from the time of our quitting the river at *Ghizeh*, we had drunk bad and sometimes brackish water, and I now longed, with an earnestness indescribable, to reach *Benisooëf*, that I might again drink of pure water. It is a saying among the Arabs, that whoever has once tasted of the Nile, can never wholly abandon

the Sacred Valley, but, wherever he may wander, will some time or another return to Egypt, drawn thither by the magical attractions of its river: and I pardon the Arabs for their enthusiasm, for on this day, though surrounded by canals, the waters of the Nile appeared to me like that fountain for which David thirsted,—more desirable than milk or honey;—and, as I rode across the wide plain which separated me from them, I beheld with extreme impatience the village groves coming in sight one after another, informing me I was still far from the river. At length, however, early in the afternoon, the white minarets of *Benisooëf*, glittering among the deep verdure of the date palms, appeared in the distance, inspiring me with delight, for I knew that the Nile flowed at their feet; but while I was enjoying, by anticipation, the luxury of quenching my thirst with pure water, myriads of winged ants *, arising from the earth and stagnant pools, settled on our faces,

* A similar phenomenon was observed by Mr. Head in the forests of North America:—"This day," says he, "in addition to those before arrived, a small black fly came in clouds, so as to give me neither peace nor rest. The summer, which I had with such eagerness anticipated, was not, I found, about to dispense pleasure without alloy; and the attacks of these winged vermin were a grievous evil. The sun shone clear and hot, and they pitched upon my face by thousands. They got into my eyes and down my throat, and my temples were covered with speckles. They were so voracious that they suffered themselves to be killed where they were, rather than take the trouble to fly away. With my hands I swept them off by hundreds, and legions returned to the charge, so as to torment me almost out of my life. All the morning it was impossible to attempt to shoot, and to drive them away was the whole occupation of the day."—*Forest Scenes, &c.* p. 288.

head, shoulders, and hands, buzzing and stinging like bees. Their numbers were incredible. We appeared to each other like moving ant-hills; for though we swept them off and killed them by thousands, until they stunk, like putrid flesh, about our hands and clothes, the swarms never seemed to be diminished, until, on our arrival at *Benisooëf*, they were killed with a besom in the court of the caravanserai. On reaching the city, unusual bustle and activity were observable in the streets, which were, in fact, so crowded, that our dromedaries had scarcely room to put their feet upon the ground without trampling on some person. The cause was soon discovered: Ahmed Pasha, with a division of the Egyptian army, had just arrived from the Hejaz, and the soldiers, previous to their marching into the *Fayoom* against the *Moggrebyns*, were spreading themselves through the city, snatching in haste the coarse pleasures within their reach. All the dancing-girls, singers, and musicians were consequently employed; and we found the caravanserai so entirely occupied by this military rabble, that not a single apartment could be obtained, so that we were constrained to pass the night in a kind of open shed, half filled with sacks of corn and other merchandise. In the court, several asses and camels, besides our own, were stabled; and had any of them felt disposed, during the night, to share our lodgings, there was nothing to prevent them, the floor of the shed not being elevated a foot above the yard. Here, for the use of the wayfarer, stood a large jar of Nile water, which, in comparison

with what we had been compelled to drink in the *Fayoom*, seemed doubly sweet. There was likewise, in the court, a kind of a coffee-house, kept by a ragged young courtezan, who, with the camel's dung, and similar substances, which she used for fuel, raised so acrid and abominable a smoke, that we were almost driven by it out of our den. However, the poor girl, who was good-natured and obliging, voluntarily assisted our attendants, now considerably fatigued, in their culinary operations, bringing them water, attending to their fire, &c. with great alacrity. When our mattresses had been unrolled in the shed, we sat down close to the entrance, to enjoy the curious spectacle which the motley groups, constantly entering or quitting the caravanserai, presented. Poverty and wretchedness are not always companions: more ragged devils than were here collected it would be difficult to find in any country; but they were not, as might have been expected, distinguished by rueful countenances, and a sullen spiritless gait. On the contrary, the ease and hilarity with which they supported the weight of despotism, and contumely, and want, at first made me angry: it seemed as if they hugged their chains. But this superficial view of the subject was succeeded by reflections of a different character; and I acknowledged the wisdom and beneficence of nature, in making up for the want of freedom, and its concomitant dignity, by a happy insensibility, and a disposition to catch and reflect from the speculum of the mind every enlivening ray which circumstances allow to find its way thither.

Soon after we had despatched our dinner, the great gate of the caravanserai was shut, and the sober part of its inmates retired to rest; but in the upper suite of apartments there were several boisterous Turkish soldiers, who sang, laughed, and made a great noise to a comparatively late hour. The youthful mistress of the coffee-house slept close to us, in the passage, with some ill-favoured fellow, who seemed to live about the caravanserai. For some time a small dim lamp, suspended against a wall in the court, cast a gloomy light over our uncouth resting-place; but the wind blew tempestuously, accompanied with rain, which falling in large drops on the flame, at length extinguished it, and left us in total darkness. Once or twice when I awoke during the night, the camels and asses, incommoded by the rain, seemed very much inclined to quit the wet court, and step into our bed-chamber; but they forbore, and permitted us to maintain undisturbed possession of it until morning.

CHAPTER XI.

DEPARTURE FROM BENISOOEF — SHOWERS OF RAIN — LONG STRINGS OF CAMELS — DISPOSITION OF THE CAMEL — VILLAGE OF MAYDOON — THE BAHR YOUSSOUFF — MAGNIFICENCE OF THE FALSE PYRAMID — ERRORS OF POCOCKE AND NORDEN — SAND-STORM — AVARICE OR A SHEIKH — BEAUTIFUL APPEARANCE OF THE PLAIN — MISERY OF THE PEASANTS — EGYPTIAN COUNTRY FAIR — FOREIGN MERCHANDISE — PICTURESQUE COSTUMES — MOGGREBYN ROBBERS — PYRAMIDS OF DASHOUR — MITRAHENI — SUPPOSED RUINS OF MEMPHIS — EGYPTIAN SCULPTURE — GUIDES OF SAKKARAH — FEMALE GUIDES — ENTER THE PYRAMIDS OF SAKKARAH — DANGEROUS POSITION OF THE AUTHOR — BIRD MUMMY-PITS — ENCROACHMENT OF THE DESERT — PYRAMIDS OF MYCERINUS AND CEPHRENES — TOMBS AND FUNEREAL SCULPTURES — RETURN TO CAIRO.

Saturday, March 10. *Geziret el Hawah.*

DLXVII. QUITTING Benisooëf at an early hour, and turning the heads of our dromedaries towards the north, we proceeded gently along the banks of the Nile, at some distance from the stream. The sky was overcast, and a slight sprinkling of rain fell as we were entering on the plain; so that, judging from our northern experience, we expected nothing less than a perpetual succession of heavy showers. As far as the eye could reach, the whole face of the country was covered with rich verdure and signs of luxuriant fertility — beautiful fields of wheat, lupines, and beans in blossom impregnating the atmosphere with

an agreeable odour. Intermingled with these articles of more obvious utility, were extensive patches of tall sedgy grass, used by the Egyptians in the manufacturing of mats; and elsewhere large tracks of ground remained fallow. The rain, having several times commenced and blown off, at length, as we drew near *Boosh**, began to fall heavily, rendering the paths slippery for the camels, and drenching us to the skin. This rich and populous village is approached by a fine long avenue of mimosa trees, — which, embowering the road, afforded us some shelter from the shower, — and in the surrounding fields and paddocks, green as any in England, were numerous herds of buffaloes and kine.

DLXVIII. Halting at the caravanserai, situated at some distance from the village, we kindled a fire in one of the courts, and, notwithstanding the rain, ate our breakfast in the other — the interior having been defiled by some dirty Arab. Here we saw pass an immense train of camels, intermingled with dromedaries, amounting, I imagine, to upwards of a thousand. A great number were unladen, and several of enormous bulk and stature, shuffling along like so many elephants. While proceeding at his natural pace, in a line after many others, or when ridden by a person to whom he is accustomed, the

* Pococke mentions a village, named *Bouche*, on the canal leading into the Fayoom, which he supposes to have been Ptolemais, the port of Arsinoë. — *Description of the East, &c.* vol. i. p. 70. But no other town of this name occurs, I believe, in this part of Egypt.

camel is cartainly a docile animal; but remove him out of these circumstances; put a stranger on his back; endeavour to compel him to travel abreast with another, or drive him through a bean or corn-field, without permitting him to stop and eat; and he grows savagely unruly, roars, snatches at the food, or suddenly throws himself on the ground, to the imminent danger of his rider's neck. I have frequently seen these tricks played by a very good camel, which, though sufficiently tractable in the desert, where there was nothing to rouse his appetite, annoyed and impeded us perpetually in the cultivated country.

DLXIX. From Boosh we proceeded northward to the village of *Maydoon;* where, instead of pursuing the ordinary route, we turned off to the left, towards the False Pyramid, which had been long visible, sometimes presenting the appearance of a prodigious tent on the edge of the verdant horizon, sometimes dwindling, from the undulations of the ground, to an insignificant cone, or disappearing entirely behind the larger eminences. Occasionally, we were conducted, by a bend in the road, into its immediate vicinity; but pursuing the sinuosities of the pathway, winding hither and thither, according to the position of the different hamlets, it again receded, seeming to fly our approach, like the unreal waters of the desert; and from this circumstance, I imagine, it has been denominated by the Arabs, the *False* or *Delusive* Pyramid. Our progress across the

cultivated country, where no paths of any kind exist, was much impeded by extensive corn-fields, which could not be traversed without inflicting considerable injury on the proprietors. The Bahr Youssouff, skirting the desert, whose encroachments and devastations it limits and confines, is now, by the neglect of the government, reduced, during the hot months, to a chain of small shallow ponds, in many places miles asunder. Immediately after crossing the bed of this ancient canal, we emerged into the desert, and, leaving the camels to browse on the coarse prickly plants growing among the sand, ascended towards the pyramid, over the lofty mounds irregularly scattered around its base. Its appearance, from a short distance, is so red, that, like the other religious structures, it seems to have been painted; but the ruddy tint is in the stone, which, when broken by the hammer, discloses numerous rubiginous strata. This pyramid differs totally in construction from those of Memphis, consisting of a series of square inclined towers, erected upon each other, successively diminishing in size to the summit, and originally terminating, I imagine, in a point. Each tower, however, was built completely, from the foundation to the apex, before that which encloses it, like a sheath, was commenced; so that the Egyptians here exhibited the utmost prodigality of labour and expense; for the masonry of this prodigious structure is so admirable, the stones are so truly squared *, and so exquisitely

* Pococke, who did not visit the "False Pyramid," gives a very incorrect idea of it, and seems inclined to believe, from the reports of the

fitted, — in the parts intended to be concealed, no less than in those which present themselves to the eye, — that it would be almost impossible to insert the point of a penknife between them. Midway up the third tower, reckoning from the base, a band of unfinished masonry, about eight feet broad, extends along each of its four faces; while all above and below is finely smoothed and polished. Though the Egyptians appear always to have planed and made even their walls after they were erected, — beginning, in most cases, from the top, and working downward, — this rough band cannot be supposed to have been accidentally left unfinished, being everywhere of the same depth, and studded with greater inequalities and projections than would have been found on a surface intended to be smoothed. It is therefore probable that it was originally covered with fine

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natives, that it was built of brick, i. 70. Dr. Richardson, who judged by its appearance from the river, describes it as standing on an elevated basis, "seemingly composed of *heterogeneous materials*." — "It rises up like a tower," says he, "and *is different from the other pyramids*." Norden's account, also, is just sufficiently explicit to prove that he never visited it. "The pyramids of Dagjour (Dashour) terminate near Meduun, where there is the most southern of all. The more distant you are from it, the more it strikes the sight; but when you approach it near, it does not seem of great consequence, being built *only of large bricks hardened in the sun: which is the reason that the Arabs and the Turks call it commonly the False Pyramid.* You discover it at a great distance, and so much the more distinctly as it is not so near the mountains, nor in the neighbourhood of the other pyramids. It is elevated upon a little hill of sand. Its four sides are equal, and descend with a slope to the horizon in form of a glacis. It has three or four degrees or steps, the lowest of which may have twenty feet of perpendicular height."

stucco, ornamented with bas-reliefs or intaglios, and painted in the gorgeous style observable in the temples. Thus adorned, it would be difficult to conceive a more striking object than this vast barbaric pile, towering aloft in a transparent atmosphere, and overlooking, like a mighty fortress, the whole extent of the sacred valley. In fact, the False Pyramid greatly resembles the idea which the descriptions of the ancients convey of the Tower of Belus, except that no flight of steps, running along the face of the edifice, conducts to the summit; though it may be conjectured that the central turret contains a staircase, approached by some subterranean entrance, now unknown. Grand, however, as this structure is, its magnificence has not sufficed to protect it from the barbarism of the Turks, who, to obtain materials for the construction of cotton-mills or barracks, have commenced the demolition of the exterior towers. An attempt has likewise been made, high in the northern face, to discover a passage into the interior; but, after considerably defacing the beauty of the pyramid, the barbarian, who most probably was in search of treasure, relinquished his hopeless undertaking. Heaps of stones and rubbish, — the spoils of the edifice, — encumber the ground, and beyond these are the sand-hills of the desert, created by the winds, and constantly advancing their shifting bases towards the cultivated country.

DLXX. In regaining the road leading from Maydoon to Rigga, a considerable circuit was rendered

necessary by the Bahr Youssouff, which intersected our course, and in this part still contained water. The wind, however, blowing almost a hurricane, and the appearance of the sky threatening rain, we hastened with all possible celerity towards the next village, intending there to pass the night; for the Mahazi Bedouin, who understood the signs of the atmosphere, predicted the approach of a sand-storm. At first, indeed, this was regarded as a false alarm; but shortly after, on looking towards the river, we observed that the scirocco was already, in the eastern desert, whirling aloft the sands in enormous clouds, and driving them impetuously towards the north, covering the whole face of the country like a thick mist, and rising above the summits of the mountains. Behind us, and on our left, the same terrific masses were in motion. The wind blew tempestuously, and rain, though not continuous, as in our climates, but descending in big heavy drops,—like those accompanying a thunder-storm,—mingled with the driving sand: the firmament became lurid, and appeared to be borne down towards the earth; the villages, the palm-groves, the mountains were alternately hidden and revealed; and the whole landscape exhibited an aspect of sombre grandeur, well calculated to rouse and captivate the imagination. In the midst of these sand-clouds, which, occupying nearly every point of the horizon, were rolled along with incredible rapidity, we continued riding for some time; but, at length, growing impatient of pursuing the windings of the narrow path, leading from hamlet to hamlet, we diverged towards

the left, in the hope, by making straight across the plain, of discovering some shorter route; instead of which we lost our way, and went on floundering through ditches and mire, ploughed fields and patches of desert, until the storm was past. Though exceedingly fatigued, the camels still proceeded at a brisk trot, so that, a little before nightfall, we reached the village, which, for so many hours, had appeared to be flying from us. Here we found, close to the walls, a wretched caravanserai, with neither doors nor windows, but pierced with numerous air-holes, letting in the cold wind on all sides, and otherwise much dilapidated. While engaged in establishing our quarters in this tenement, the Sheïkh el Beled,—not, I regret to say, from motives of hospitality,—invited us to his own house, where, he observed, both ourselves and our beasts would be secure from the attacks of the marauding parties which nightly overran the country. His representations were undoubtedly founded in truth; but it soon appeared that his principal motive for making them was mercenary and base, since, for every article of provision he supplied us with, double the ordinary price was demanded. He was, however, a rich man, and before the closing of the village gates, we saw his numerous flocks and herds,—camels, and she-goats, and kine,—driven into a strong place for safety. In the erection of the portion of his mansion appropriated to the use of travellers, several fragments of marble and polished granite had been employed,

which renders it probable that some ancient city was situated near the spot.

Sunday, March 11. *Mitraheni.*

DLXXI. Quitting about sunrise the dwelling of the avaricious sheïkh, we continued our journey over a plain of extraordinary fertility and beauty. Thousands of spring flowers, red, yellow, white, purple, and blue, enamelled the greensward by the way-side, while a magnificent expanse of bright verdure extended on one hand to the Nile, on the other to the desert. Numerous mimosa trees in blossom, budding palms, and odoriferous shrubs and plants, diffused a fragrance through the air, rendered soft and balmy by the genial influence of spring. But, if the prospect of inanimate nature was exhilarating, the pleasure derived from it was frequently damped by spectacles which a country afflicted with the plague of despotism could alone supply: troops of men torn violently from their homes, marching away under the surveillance of foreign mercenaries, while their wives and children, menaced with penury and want, followed them with sobbing and lamentation as long as their strength would permit, and then returned, widowed and fatherless, to their villages. Poverty we had beheld in every shape, until it had ceased to excite attention; but in this rich and smiling part of the country, where nature was bountiful even to profusion, its evils seemed to be by that circumstance greatly aggravated. We had elsewhere seen men feeding on lupines, and trefoil, and wild herbs, like

cattle; emaciated women, with scarcely a rag to cover their waists, gliding like spectres through the ruined villages; and children, naked as when born, sallow, squalid, bloated, eyeless, too young to know their danger, with no mother to guard, no father to maintain them, sitting among the rubbish, infested with lizards, snakes, scorpions, and every noxious reptile, subsisting on the spontaneous but precarious charity of the poor.

DLXXII. This morning the condition of the peasantry appeared more debased and humiliating than usual; for the neighbouring hamlets had been visited by a recruiting party, who, having collected a number of men, were proceeding with them towards Mitraheni. Observing, however, that we were about to overtake them, — for our camels were fleet and powerful, — they hastily turned aside out of the path, and stood still at a considerable distance, until our party had passed. Some wretched Frank was, perhaps, at their head, who, not having lost all sense of shame, thus sought, by a precipitate retreat, to avoid the finger of scorn. The female relations of the conscripts, who had probably been forcibly compelled to return, we met upon the road; — a heart-stricken sorrowful group, — some absorbed in sullen grief, others weeping bitterly. Continuing our journey, we soon observed a complete shifting of the scene: — small parties of peasants, male and female, young and old, with laughing eyes and merry faces, proceeding towards a bazār, or fair, held at a neighbouring

village. Towards this point numerous pathways converged from distant parts of the plain, and, mounted on lofty camels, we could discover the various groups from afar, as they appeared and disappeared among the scattered date-groves. Several knots we overtook and passed. Some, like pedlars, were carrying their rural merchandise,—the produce of their fields and gardens,—to sell at the fair; others, from their being empty-handed, were evidently proceeding thither to buy; but all seemed equally lively, laughing, talking, and cracking their jokes, as if Egypt contained no Pasha.* The men were invariably armed, some with muskets or spears, others with those long heavy sticks called *naboots*, without which no Arab peasant ever ventures abroad. I observed that the women always walked on foot, while the men, perhaps, were mounted on asses, and carried the children on their laps. Why the women do not ride is more than I can comprehend: it may be barbarism; it may be decency; as, without saddles or stirrups, it would be difficult for them to do so without exposing themselves. Even in Cairo, where the fair sex wear trousers, and are enveloped in ample drapery, the legs, by the awkward manner in which they sit their beasts, are frequently bared to the knee; while the rude ass-driver, in lifting them up and down, and in preserving them, in slippery places, from falling, makes exceedingly free with the persons of women

* "And living as if Earth contained no tomb."

supposed to live retired in inviolable harems, and who, when abroad, affect scrupulously to conceal their faces.

DLXXIII. On arriving at the bazār, held, like an English country fair, in a field on the outskirts of the village, we alighted under a palm tree; and, leaving our attendants to prepare breakfast, mingled among the crowd of Arabs assembled on the plain. The scene was highly characteristic. Rare and costly spices from the farthest East, which could scarcely be supposed ever to find their way into the hut of an Egyptian peasant, were spread upon the grass in the midst of ordinary Venetian beads, corn, peas, beans, cheese, and butter. Rows of market-women, some with bread, others with eggs or dried dates, sat on the ground, surrounded by horses, asses, and camels, which, with singular tact, passed to and fro beneath their heavy burdens without trampling even on the hem of their garments. Both men and women, however, exhibited that noisy brawling propensity which in all countries distinguishes the vulgar; the buyer and the seller, whatever might be the value of the article in question, seeming by the loudness of their voices, and the fierceness of their gesticulation, to be engaged in mortal conflict; but when the bargain was concluded, the vociferation likewise ceased, and the disputants chatted and laughed together with their usual good humour. In one part of the bazār, where a sturdy fellah was engaged, perhaps, in cheapening an ass, you might behold twenty

individuals of both sexes, nowise interested in the transaction, encircling the chapmen, and entering with so much earnestness into their business, some siding with the buyer, others with the seller, that a stranger would certainly suppose that they were to receive a commission on the proceeds. To a painter in search of grotesque costumes, these motley groups would have afforded delectable materials; for the Neapolitan lazzarone are less whimsical in their habiliments than the Arabs. Turbans, white, black, red, or green; cream-coloured, brown, or striped white and green cloaks; blue shirts, tattered blankets, which disguised rather than covered the wearer, and rags of every colour in the rainbow, fluttering in the wind, met the eye on all sides. But the countenances of the fellahs exhibit little variety, excepting such as results from sex or age, or different stages of famine or disease. Hungry dogs, the universal scavengers of Egypt, prowled about the bazār, ravenously snatching up whatever was thrown to them, and seeming quite prepared, if occasion were afforded, to rend and devour the donors.

DLXXIV. The path, on quitting this village, leads towards the Nile; upon which, long before the water was visible, numerous white sails appeared, gliding along the green banks, as if belonging to the land. Our track now lay along the top of an elevated causeway, running parallel with the stream, and intended to protect the irrigated districts from the inundation. Here we overtook two Bedouin pedes-

trians, armed with muskets and bayonets, who appeared to be travelling towards Cairo. Like the generality of their countrymen west of the Nile, they exhibited in their manner an impudent familiarity, betokening what, among the vulgar, is denominated "knowledge of the world;" which signifies that, having, in their profligate career, lost all self-respect, they had likewise ceased to respect other men, or the laws which make a difference between mine and thine. Entering at once into conversation with our Mahazi guide, a simple honest man, they very quickly learned from him all the particulars on which they desired to be informed; as, where we had been, whither we were going, which of us was treasurer, &c. The sight of our arms, however, appeared to stagger them. They therefore dropped behind, with the design of robbing our Caireen attendant, who always loitered in the rear. With him they used no ceremony, but began immediately to inquire what was in the saddle-bags. "Nothing but papers," he replied. "Kafir!" they exclaimed, "it is false. Franks never travel without money. Descend, therefore, you dog, and open the bags, or we will shoot you, and burn your father!" And there can be no doubt they would in a few minutes have made themselves masters of our baggage, had we not, just at the moment, supposing him to be gossiping with the strangers, rode back to put an end to their conference. Observing this, the Bedouins made their escape across the fields, towards a small encampment to which they perhaps belonged. The terrified Arab now related what had

taken place; and, upon our demanding why he had not shouted to us for help, as we were quite within hearing, replied, that he was too much terrified. After this adventure, however, he no more lagged behind.

DLXXV. Pushing on rapidly towards Dashour, we visited and examined its several pyramids, which have nothing very peculiar in their construction, except that the largest, having been commenced on a grand scale, with the evident intention of being carried to an immense height, contracts suddenly, and terminates in a blunt point. Its entrance, as usual, is found in the northern face, about twenty-five feet from the ground. Of the other pyramids, built in the same style as those of Sakkarah, there is one which has been so completely uncovered, that the hillock of earth, forming the original nucleus of the structure, alone remains. Leading from the valley to the foot of these structures, are several causeways, the existence of which has given rise to different conjectures; for, if they are admitted to have been the work of the ancient Egyptians, it will follow that the desert has not greatly encroached on the cultivated ground, and that the pyramids must have been originally erected on rocks in the midst of sand-hills. But, supposing them of modern date, constructed for the convenience of removing the stones and bricks to be used elsewhere, the presumption would ensue, that the pyramids were built in the valley considerably in advance of the desert. Appearances

are favourable to the latter hypothesis. For the immense masses of stone which have been displaced are no longer to be seen; though the sands have not risen so high as to conceal them, did they still exist upon the spot. Without laborious and expensive operations it would, however, be impossible accurately to determine to what extent the sands of the Libyan waste have advanced eastward; but it is probable that the loss of land here sustained exceeds what has been acquired by the enlargement of the Delta.

DLXXVI. Evening approaching, we once more descended into the valley, and proceeded towards Mitraheni. The country on which we now entered, formerly celebrated for the ruins it contained, is at present distinguished only for its richness and beauty. Covered with a carpet of luxuriant verdure, and adorned, at intervals, with magnificent palm forests, traversed by lofty umbrageous avenues, and peopled with echoes, it seemed to be a fragment of fairy-land. Passing through Sakkarah, situated at the northern extremity of one of these woods, and hastening over the intervening plain, we arrived at Mitraheni while sufficient day-light remained to enable us to examine the mounds and fragments of antiquity in its vicinity. Here, perhaps, the loftiest palm-trees in Egypt are found, many of them exceeding one hundred feet in height; their smooth trunks resembling tall slender columns, terminating in a capital of waving leaves. The ancient remains, supposed by many travellers to be those of Memphis,

stand on the southern shore of a small lake, in the midst of a wood, and consist chiefly of brick substructions overwhelmed by extensive mounds of rubbish. With the exception of one colossal statue, there is nothing at Mitraheni calculated to support the hypothesis that the ancient capital of Lower Egypt, the dwelling-place of the Pharaohs, adorned with magnificent temples and palaces, was here situated; the traces of ruins, though widely scattered, being less considerable than in the neighbourhood of many Egyptian cities of inferior note. Nothing advanced by Pococke, Bruce, or any other traveller, with the design of invalidating the arguments of Shaw, who fixes the site of Memphis on the plains of Ghizeh, is at all satisfactory, independently of the appearance of the ground, which, in my opinion, is unfavourable to their views; the scanty architectural fragments here discovered being of too mean and paltry a character to be allowed much weight in the discussion, which must, therefore, be conducted on other grounds.

DLXXVII. The colossal statue above-mentioned is properly a fragment, which, having been cast down, like Dagon, from its pedestal, lies upon its face in a small hollow, opened by excavation, with the legs broken off a short way below the knees. The back, which probably lay long uncovered, has been greatly corroded by the atmosphere, and in parts wantonly defaced by violence; but the countenance, the breast, and the drapery, descending in wavy folds over the

limbs, are in a state of high preservation; and enable us to judge, with some degree of precision, of the merits of Egyptian sculpture at the period when this statue was executed. There seems to be nothing in the costume or ornaments which positively determine whether it be the effigies of a hero or a god; though, from the style of features, resembling what we observe in other Egyptian representations of divinity, where ideas of power are sought to be awakened by gigantic masses in repose, I conclude it was intended for a deity. Assuming this to be the case, a comparison may fairly be instituted between it and the creations of the Grecian chisel, likewise designed to embody the nearest possible approach to ideal beauty. It would appear to have been the aim of the artist to represent, in this colossus, the union of vast physical power with placidity and gentleness; but, if so, he has indubitably fallen short of the mark. Instead of indomitable energy, quelled and reduced to tranquillity by the harmonizing influence of a godlike intellect, we merely discover the absence of those mighty passions, in the generous manifestation of which all dignity and majesty consist. The Greeks, on the contrary, who have been supposed to borrow from the masters of this school their first notions of art, delighted, above all things, in delineating action and the play of the passions. Their statues, accordingly, are seldom or never in an attitude of repose. You perceive that they have done, are doing, or are about to do something; and intense satisfaction, joy, solicitude, or anxiety, breathes forth from every

lineament of their countenance. The Greeks, in one word, represented action; the Egyptians inaction; and the difference may, perhaps, be philosophically accounted for by considering the national character of each people. Like all other Orientals, the inhabitants of Egypt supposed the supreme good to consist in cessation from labour, corporeal and mental, and a certain dreamy tranquillity, in which the mind yields itself up to the sway of fantastic visions, framing impracticable schemes, and executing in idea what in real life it would shrink from attempting. Hence, according to them, rest is better than action; sleeping, than being awake; and death, than life. Among the Greeks—who in this resembled the other European nations—happiness was traced to the exertion of mental and physical energy; consequently, the pervading spirit in their plastic arts, which, wherever a distinct style of imitation exists, is merely the representative of the national character, was creative and vivifying, and manifested itself in forms exhibiting passion and energy. The colossal statue of Mitraheni may be regarded as the type of Egyptian sculpture. Every thing in its appearance is adverse to our ideas of beauty or sublimity; the forehead being low and retreating, the eyes long and sleepy, the eyebrows elongated by paint, the cheeks spare, the nose of the meanest form, exhibiting a dull curve at the point, with the cartilage between the nostrils; the mouth well formed, but expressive rather of benevolence than vigour; the chin of the negro cast. And, indeed, though the hypothesis of

Volney, that the Egyptians were genuine negroes, be equally at variance with history and the testimony of existing monuments, there appears to be some ground for suspecting that they were a mixed race, partly Asiatic, partly African.

Monday, March 12. CAIRO.

DLXXVIII. Returning across the plain, in search of guides, to the Bird Mummy Pits, we directed our course towards Sakkarah, where we observed a curious trait in the Egyptian character.—Like the Swiss, the peasants, in this part of the country, often endeavour, in their dealings with strangers, to obtain treble the value of what they sell; and being aware of this, we made it our invariable practice to offer them the regular market price; with which, in most cases, they were satisfied. But at Sakkarah this was not the case. Demanding for certain articles of provision an exorbitant sum, we offered them considerably less; without descending to our valuation, they lowered their demands, to which, the overcharge being inconsiderable, we acceded. Supposing that by maintaining their original position they would eventually have forced us to accept of their terms, the abatement now seemed absurd, and they reverted to their first price; upon which we put our camels in motion, and declined the purchase altogether. In all Egyptian villages situated in the vicinity of ruins or catacombs, every person not more profitably employed, constitutes himself a guide; so that when strangers make their appearance, they are

immediately surrounded by a crowd of vagabonds, determined to serve them whether they will or not. To threaten the supernumeraries with non-payment is useless. They understand the character of travellers, and so implicitly rely on their generosity, and reluctance to turn away without rewarding a poor devil who has at least shown a disposition to be useful to them, that they always persevere, and seldom lose their labour. On quitting Sakkarah we were accompanied only by a single guide; but, in crossing the plain, two other men, abandoning, perhaps, their labours in the field, joined our party; and, upon entering the desert, another man, and two fine young women, whose regular business appeared to consist in searching for antiquities among the sand-hills and recent excavations, coolly enlisted themselves in the same service.

DLXXIX. Attended by all these followers, not one of whom, perhaps, had ever before acted as guide, we proceeded towards the largest of the pyramids, the entrance of which, they strenuously insisted, had not hitherto been discovered. On this point, however, it was unnecessary to rely on their testimony; for, arriving at the spot, we discovered the adit, at the bottom of a deep pit partly filled with sand and stones. Externally this structure resembles the Harām el Kedâb, consisting of a series of square inclined towers built upon each other, and terminating in a point. To descend into the interior many lights are necessary; but, coming from

the Fayoom, a country where wax tapers are not to be purchased, — ordinary candles would be melted by a few days' travelling, — we were wholly unprovided, and our guides seemed in the same predicament. However, upon inquiry, it appeared they had brought with them a number of dry palm branches, with which, and our small travelling lamp, we prepared to descend. As the heat is always considerable in subterraneous passages and chambers, it was judged prudent partly to undress before entering; and the Bedouin, who remained with the camels, took charge of the baggage, and our superfluous garments. Though in other respects sufficiently adventurous, the Arab girls refused to enter the pyramid, the mouth of which they seemed to regard with horror; but, sitting down at a short distance, said they would there await our return.

DLXXX. We now descended into the pit with the guides; who, after clearing away a portion of the sand with their hands, threw themselves on their faces, and, proceeding feet foremost, forced their way with much difficulty beneath the superincumbent rock. Following their example, we found ourselves in a low horizontal passage, leading directly towards the centre of the pyramid. Here the lamp and palm branches were kindled, and we commenced the exploring of the subterranean galleries, a part of the Arabs preceding, others following us. For a short distance the passage continued so low, that it was necessary to advance in a stooping posture; but

becoming higher by degrees, we were enabled to proceed with greater facility, until at length it branched off, on either hand, into numerous smaller corridors, leading in different directions, like those intricate excavations which extend beneath the foundations of Persepolis. Evidently unacquainted with the topography of the place, the guides here seemed in doubt respecting the track they ought to follow; but, after a moment's pause, selected a passage conducting by an abrupt descent to a lower level. All these galleries and corridors are excavated in the solid rock, which appears to constitute the whole interior of the pyramid, and probably lead to as many different suites of apartments; though to ascertain this, it would be necessary, in some cases, to clear away numerous blocks of stone, which have detached themselves from the roof, and closed the passages. Arriving, at length, at a small fissure in the rock, the guide, who moved in front of me, with the flaming palm branch in his hand, descending through this opening, disappeared with his light; and it was some time before he returned, having, I imagine, hurried forward, in the hope of discovering whither it led. As soon as the light appeared, we also went down, and, proceeding through narrow galleries and corridors, winding, mounting, descending and crossing each other, at length arrived at a hall of immense height, excavated in the solid rock. A pistol was here fired; but the report, though loud, was succeeded by none of those extraordinary echoes distinguishable in the pyramid of Cheops. From this

chamber another series of passages, the entrance to which is now closed with stones and rubbish, seems formerly to have descended to inferior suites of apartments, hitherto unexplored. The light yielded by the lamp and palm branches was insufficient to discover the roof, or the exact form of several openings, resembling balconies or galleries; where, perhaps, during the celebration of the mysteries, the initiated may have sat, observing the movements of the hierophants. Numerous lateral galleries, diverging from this point, appear to extend on all sides beneath the foundations of the pyramid; but, in attempting to explore them, our progress was generally obstructed by heaps of stone or sand. At length, however, after pursuing for some time the windings of a low corridor, we arrived suddenly at the mouth of a chasm of unknown depth, whose dimensions were concealed by the shadows of the projecting rocks. Deceived, at first, by the dimness of the light, I was about to step forward, when a loud and sudden exclamation from my terrified companion, who perceived the danger of the position, arrested my progress, and saved me from being precipitated into the abyss. On further examination, it appeared that we were standing in one of the balconies overlooking the great hall. Retracing our footsteps from this perilous gallery, and finding in the pyramid nothing further to detain us, we returned towards the entrance, and, emerging into the desert, found all our garments and baggage wetted by the rain.

DLXXXI. Mounting our camels, we now proceeded towards the celebrated mummy-pits, over an undulating sandy plain, diversified at intervals with small rocky eminences, perforated with sepulchral chambers of various dimensions, wantonly dilapidated and rifled of their dead. Numerous beautiful sarcophagi, still in perfect preservation, and richly adorned with sculpture and hieroglyphics, lay scattered over the waste, all opened and plundered. Among them also were broken funeral urns, fragments of coffins and cerecloths, and portions of disinterred human bodies. A small chapel, standing in the midst of this interminable cemetery, contains the entrance to the depository of the sacred birds, excavated at a considerable depth in the rock; the descent to which is by a square well, slippery and dangerous. For the use of travellers, however, small notches have been cut in its perpendicular sides, but so shallow as barely to receive the point of the toe. The Arabs, barefoot, and accustomed to the operation, descended with the utmost facility; but when it became our turn to follow, the case was somewhat different, though, by perseverance, we ultimately succeeded. Arriving at the bottom, we moved after the guides through long passages cut in the rock, crushing at every step the frail jars which stood in heaps upon the ground. The lamp yielding but a dim light, it was impossible to discover the form or dimensions of the gallery, or the nature of the floor where the dust, bones, and envelopes of the ibises lay mingled with innumerable fragments of pottery, ren-

dering access to the interior irksome and laborious; and the guides, desirous of displaying their intimate knowledge of the *local*, or of enhancing the merit of their services, by creating an extraordinary idea of the intricacy and vastness of the hypogea, seem to have selected the most circuitous route; but at length, after traversing numerous dark passages, from whence the mummies had been removed, we reached the deep recess filled with jars, piled tier beyond tier, precisely as the old Egyptians had left them.

DLXXXII. Notwithstanding the care lavished on the remains of the sacred birds, time, in most instances, has done its work, and reduced them, bones and all, to dust; so that travellers, intent on obtaining a perfect specimen, ignorantly or heedlessly destroy a hundred jars before they succeed: by which means these curious relics of ancient superstition and art must, in a few years, wholly disappear. But this Vandalism is perfectly gratuitous, for, by shaking the vessel, it is easy to discover the state of its contents. The jars, about fifteen inches in length, and seven or eight in diameter, are light, porous, and unglazed, ingeniously closed with two small round plates, partly let down into the vessels, meeting and lapping over each other in the middle, and firmly bound together by a coarse white cement. Though apparently solid and well preserved, the mummies frequently fall to ashes when exposed to the air; and therefore, for osteological and anatomical purposes, those em-

balmed at Thebes, — where, instead of being deposited in earthen vessels, they were wrapped in numerous linen bandages, — are greatly to be preferred.

DLXXXIII. Having paid and discharged our guides, including the young women, and leaving the whole party engaged in a furious quarrel respecting the division of the spoil, we proceeded along the skirts of the desert towards the pyramids of Ghizeh; which, when approached from the south, present a still more magnificent and sublime aspect than from the opposite quarter. In this portion of the valley, the encroachment of the Libyan waste is too manifest and palpable to be disputed. Plants, the peculiar production of the fertile fields, are beheld surrounded by a thin layer of sand, marking the extreme boundary of the desert, which incessantly, though imperceptibly, advances towards the river, obliterating all traces of cultivation. To a wise government, however, this phenomenon would be no subject of disquietude; since it is possible not only to oppose, by the excavation of canals, an insuperable barrier to the growth of the wilderness, but even to reclaim and fertilise a large portion of its inhospitable downs, where moisture alone is wanting to vivify the germs of vegetation. In the deep hollow immediately south of the sphynx, six lofty trees, mimosas and sycamores, are nourished and clothed with luxuriant verdure by a scanty spring, concealed beneath the sand; while the surface of the arid expanse, bordering on the corn-fields and meadows of Ghizeh, is thinly covered with a dry long

grass, which irrigation would quickly convert into rich pasture.

DLXXXIV. The whole vicinity of the pyramids is occupied by tombs, some excavated in the rock, others constructed with vast blocks of stone, —masses of solid masonry, or, perhaps, containing chambers whose entrances are unknown. One of the former, now inhabited by a Mohammedan saint, is divided by a skreen of Egyptian workmanship into two commodious apartments, adorned with sculpture and hieroglyphics, and containing numerous small niches for coffins. A row of figures in *alto relievo* formerly extended the whole length of the tomb; but these fanaticism or antiquarian avarice has long since removed. The saint was absent, begging, perhaps, in the villages; but his hospitable door stood open, so that whoever chose might enter, and rest himself. From this tomb we proceeded to the pyramid of Mycerinus*, the smallest, but once the most beautiful of these extraordinary temples, having been coated with red granite from Siene. Very few of the blocks now retain their original position, the greater number, displaced by Turkish or antiquarian barbarians, encumbering the soil about its base; though their

* "Minor quidem prædictis," says Pliny, "sed multo spectatior, Æthiopicis lapidibus, assurgit ccclxii pedibus inter angulos." — *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 12. According to Herodotus, it was only half covered with Ethiopian marble: — λίθου δὲ ἐς τὸ ἥμισυ Αἰθιοπικοῦ, ii. 134. He condemns, perhaps without sufficient reason, the tradition of the Greeks, attributing its erection to the courtesan Rhodopis.

cupidity has been hitherto defeated in its object, the entrance to the interior remaining undiscovered. South-west are two similar structures of smaller dimensions, and much dilapidated. Proceeding northward, along the great enclosure wall of the second pyramid, we entered a spacious tomb, where, as at Eilithyias and Gournou, are delineated, in a rude style, the occupations and amusements of the Egyptians: butchers cutting up oxen, — a favourite subject, — dancing, fighting, &c. On one of the walls is a representation of a river fight, in which the boats containing the combatants seem very little superior to the coracles of the ancient Britons described by Cæsar. In the delineation of cattle the artists of Thebes and Memphis appear to have made considerable proficiency; several bulls, on the interior of this tomb, are ably delineated; and, from the fulness and beauty of their form, it may be inferred that much care was bestowed in improving the breed of this animal; which was sometimes worshipped and sometimes eaten.

DLXXXV. Having omitted, during our first visit, to enter the pyramid of Cephrenes, opened by Belzoni, we now, accompanied by several Bedouins, who had joined us from the neighbouring villages, descended into the interior; the operation involving neither difficulty nor danger. All the passages are beautifully cased with oriental porphyry. In the floor of the larger chamber — the only one now accessible — is a sunken sarcophagus, in which, it has been said, the

bones of an ox (more probably of a cow) were found; a circumstance at variance with the vulgar hypothesis, that the pyramids were royal-tombs. Numerous names are scrawled upon the walls, but none possessing any interest, excepting that of Belzoni; those old Mohammedan signatures, visible on the first opening of the pyramid, being no longer legible. A passage, now blocked up with large stones, leads towards the base of the edifice, where there probably exist many chambers excavated in the rock. The ascent to the summit, though exceedingly laborious, and not wholly divested of danger, has been several times achieved; but, as the view from the pyramid of Cheops, which is considerably higher, must necessarily be more extensive, no rational object can be gained by effecting it. In the sand, near the sphynx, are two beautiful sarcophagi, in blue granite, with their covers lying near them, adorned with rich sculpture, and in excellent preservation. Proceeding over the plain to Ghizeh, we crossed the Nile, and hastened to Cairo, where we arrived late in the afternoon.

CHAPTER XII.

DEPARTURE OF THE PILGRIM CARAVAN — DECREASE OF RELIGIOUS ZEAL — SPLENDID COSTUME OF THE TURKISH OFFICERS — MOHAMMEDAN LADIES — BAGGAGE OF THE PILGRIMS — MILITARY ESCORT — ORIENTAL MUSIC — SAINTS OF CAIRO — CAT CARRIED IN PROCESSION — SACRED COVERING FOR THE KA'ABA — FANTASTIC BUFFOONS — AMUSEMENTS OF THE POPULACE — APPEARANCE OF THE PILGRIMS IN THE DESERT — REPORTS OF REBELLION — ROBBER CASTES IN EGYPT — MURDER OF A PILGRIM AND A FELLAH — CONVENT OF MOUNT SINAI — GREEK MONKS — MADHOUSE OF CAIRO — FEARFUL SPECTACLE — APPEARANCE OF THE LUNATICS — THE HOSPITAL — TOMBS OF THE KHALIFS — SARACENIC ARCHITECTURE — CONSISTENT JEALOUSY OF THE ORIENTALS — CONCEALMENT OF THE GRAVES OF WOMEN — GRAVE OF BURCKHARDT — CURIOUS STRUCTURE OF MOHAMMEDAN TOMBS — BEAUTIFUL SARACENIC GATEWAY — THE GRAND CANAL — HOUSE OF BURCKHARDT.

DLXXXVI. FROM the period of our return from the Fayoom, until my departure for Alexandria, I was unceasingly occupied in examining the city and environs of Cairo; where, as I have already observed, materials might easily be obtained for an instructive and interesting volume. Among the spectacles here witnessed by the traveller, none, perhaps, are more deserving of notice than the departure of the pilgrim caravan, which yearly, in the spring, traverses the Arabian wilderness to Mekka. From the decay of religious zeal in all parts of the Mohammedan world,

the pomp and magnificence formerly displayed on these occasions have, for ages, been gradually diminishing. The Khalifs of Egypt, when they undertook the pilgrimage in person, frequently exhibited the extreme of barbaric grandeur; being attended by innumerable cavaliers in gorgeous costume, mounted on horses or dromedaries richly caparisoned in purple and gold: and even in later ages, the governors and Pashas entrusted with the management of the sacred cavalcade, expended considerable sums in what was regarded as a work of piety. But the passion for costly and glittering pageants, characteristic of barbarous times and nations, has long been on the wane in the East, where a more simple taste, introduced by good sense or poverty, is imperceptibly succeeding it. Perhaps, as regards Egypt, the decay of pilgrimage may be connected with the policy of Mohammed Ali; the pervading spirit of whose government is wholly adverse to the influence of religious fanaticism.

DLXXXVII. Early in the morning, shortly after the *ṣalah il ṣubh*, the firing of cannon, and an unusual noise and commotion in the streets, announced the commencement of the important day. The whole population of the city appeared to be agitated by the anticipation of some extraordinary event. Groups of men and women, congregating in the squares and public places, or hurrying hither and thither with shouts and clamour, as during the first movements of an insurrection, imparted to the scene an aspect of

unusual interest; and a few turbulent spirits, dexterously availing themselves of the effervescence excited among the multitude, might easily have converted the religious assembly into a political tumult. Residing in the Turkish quarter, we enjoyed the advantage of beholding every thing that took place. On no occasion had the Caireens ever appeared so full of vivacity. All business was suspended, and the inhabitants, closing their warehouses and their shops, came forth attired in their holiday costume, to behold or join in the procession. The crowd, dressed in garments of various colours, with gay variegated turbans, were all moving towards the citadel, whence the sacred covering for the Ka'aba, accompanied by the saints, the pilgrims, and the military escort, was to descend into the city, and be conveyed to the encampment in the desert. Mingling among the multitude, we proceeded to the street leading to the Gate of Victory, through which the cavalcade must necessarily pass; and, taking our stand in front of a coffee-house, surrounded by Turks and Arabs, awaited the appearance of the procession. Directly opposite was a mosque, upon the projecting galleries of which were several ladies of distinction, leaning over the balconies, and looking earnestly in the direction of the citadel. As far as the eye could reach, the streets were occupied by a dense crowd, pressed so close together, that the whole space appeared to be paved with turbans. In a short time a Turkish horseman, whose business it was to clear the way for the pageant, appeared, and was immediately succeeded by a long file of heavily laden

camels, bearing the baggage of the pilgrims. As the animals passed, the ladies occupying the high Saracenic gallery of the mosque, inspired, like the mænades of old, by the fervour of devotion, uttered one of those shrill indescribable shrieks of joy, peculiar to the females of the East, which, probably, accompanied the bacchanalian orgies of Osiris. Next succeeded the military escort, horse and infantry, designed to protect the religious adventurers from the attacks of the Bedouins. The common soldiers, in the ordinary uniform of the Nizam, had a plain appearance; but the officers, in their magnificent dresses of green, scarlet, and gold, with their sparkling decorations, shawl sashes, and glittering arms, recalled to mind the old barbaric splendour of the East. On this occasion European instruments were judiciously dispensed with; the band, though scanty, being in the genuine Turkish style, consisting of kettle-drums mounted on camels, and fifes, yielding those loud ear-piercing notes which alone the Orientals regard as music. Several of the drums, formed of copper and parchment, were of immense size, resembling the nakarras of Méwar, with which, in former ages, they used to proclaim, from the ancient palace of Oodipoor, the opening of the festival of Bhavani. These were followed by the sheïkhs, or saints, of Cairo, and the whole body of pilgrims, many from the most distant Mussulman provinces of Africa, mounted on lofty camels, with green and scarlet housings embroidered with gold; intermingled with numerous fanatical devotees on foot, bearing flags containing mottoes and devices.

DLXXXVIII. To these succeeded a man, in very peculiar costume, on a fine dromedary, carrying on his lap a cat, the favourite animal of the Prophet; which seemed to be well pleased with its situation, and, as it moved along, regarded the surrounding multitude with the utmost complacency. This circumstance, though trifling in itself, conveys a high idea of the veneration entertained by the Mohammedans for the founder of their religion. At length came the *Mahmal*, or sacred camel, bearing the covering for the Ka'aba, suspended on a lofty frame-work, resembling a tent. This was the object of universal veneration: every individual in the crowd eagerly pressed towards the camel, in the hope of touching it in passing; while thousands of persons, principally women, thronged the large projecting windows on either side, and letting down from above long shawls, or girdles, or the linen of their turbans, upon the holy veil, again drew them up, and pressed them with an air of deep devotion on their hearts or foreheads. Meanwhile shouts of joy rent the air, as the Mahmal went shuffling along, amid crowds of anxious faces, above and below, and waving turbans, and disheveled hair. The commander of the Haj, a Turk of rank and distinction, was followed by a camel bearing a small canopy, or houdah, probably indicative of his office, as it appeared too small for use. Numerous jesters, or buffoons, the original type of our professed "fools" of Europe, moved on among the saints, making strange grimaces, and uttering studied absurdities for the amusement of the

populace. Of these motley personages, some were borne on men's shoulders, others rode upon camels; while the less distinguished, like the renowned Martinus Scriblerus, made their own legs their compasses. Their fantastic dresses and quaint appearance defy description: but the principal fool wore a capote of sheepskin, dressed with the wool on, and possessed a prodigious pair of mustachios, at least six or seven inches long, painted of divers colours, and sticking out on either side like leeks.

DLXXXIX. When the procession had passed, we followed among the throng, and, going out through the Gate of Victory, pursued the track of the pilgrims along the skirts of the extensive cemeteries, where the populace were engaged with their noisy amusements, drums, monkeys, and dancing-girls, whose performances called forth frequent bursts of applause. The more ordinary species of courtesans had taken possession of the ruined tombs, and other old buildings, where they were at home to visitors of all descriptions. Ascending the lofty mounds of rubbish beyond the cemetery, we watched the long line of pilgrims winding its way through tombs and gardens to its station in the desert, where the tents of the Turkish escort had been pitched for several weeks. Of the numerous individuals forming this remarkable procession, the greater number, in all probability, would never return; since, in these expeditions, many perish on the road from fatigue, or are cut off by the Bedouins; others fall victims to the deleterious

climate of Mekka; while others, embarking in frail ill-manned vessels, are drowned on their way home, in the Red Sea. On all sides small parties of Arabs, dispersed over the sands, some with their wives and children, others with a knot of dancing-girls, were enjoying the delights of idleness, or listening to the marvellous relations of the story-teller. The view, comprehending all these groups, and extending over the whole of Cairo, was strikingly interesting; but it became more so, when, descending from the hillocks, we mingled among the multitude, pouring like bees along the plain. Most persons appear to advantage on a holiday: for pleasures, at least such as may be enjoyed in the open air, have an irresistible tendency to foster habits of benevolence and toleration, men being exceedingly disposed, when melted by the warmth of enjoyment, to behold whatever comes before them in glowing and agreeable colours. And this appears particularly to be the case among the Arabs, whose lively excitable natures, receiving with facility the impulses of voluptuousness, have, at the same time, a proneness to conversation and sociability.

DXC. At this time the enemies of Mohammed Ali, who, among the Turkish part of the population, greatly outnumber his friends, industriously propagated the report that a dangerous rebellion had broken out in the Delta, and the newly conquered province of Syria; and by those and other means, great political agitation, popular discontent, and the expectation and hope of change were everywhere

maintained. The Pasha's authority, which, it was hoped, would speedily terminate, was every day set at nought. Robbers and murderers, issuing forth from their hiding-places, imagining that the reign of law was annihilated, began openly to exercise their profession *, diffusing terror and perturbation through the community. Every thing, in short, seemed to indicate the approach of one of those periods of transition, in which governments are overthrown, and society shaken to its foundation. Even the sanctity of the pilgrim character was insufficient to protect its possessors. Three Hajjis, from Fez or Morocco, proceeding along the eastern bank of the river towards Cairo, to join the sacred caravan then about to depart for the Hejaz, were by a band of robbers attacked and plundered, and one of their number killed. Similar atrocities were perpetrated in the very bazārs, close to the capital. At a village in the neighbourhood of Ghizeh, where a cattle market is weekly held, a peasant, having disposed of a number of oxen, was standing beside a camel,—the last

* Here, however, as in India, there is a regular robber caste, properly organised, under the protection of government, to which it pays a tax, like the dancing girls. "Les voleurs forment une espèce de corporation; ils ont un chef reconnu par la police. Lorsqu'il se commet un vol de quelque importance, on arrête le chef, qui en découvre les auteurs." — *Mengin, Histoire de l'Egypte, &c.* t. ii. p. 256. A similar "corporation" existed in ancient Egypt. — *Aulus Gellius*, l. xi. c. 18. p. 398. — "Memini," says he, "legere me in libro Aristonis jureconsulti, haudquaquam indocti viri, apud veteres Ægyptios, quod genus hominum constat, et in artibus reperiendis sollertes exstitisse, et in cognitione rerum indaganda sagaces, *furta omnia fuisse licita et impœnita.*" — Conf. *Diodorus Siculus*, βιβλιοθ. i. 80.

of his stock, — when a Moggrebyn Bedouin accosted him, demanding the price of the beast. The peasant, according to custom, asked double its value, in order to afford the Bedouin an occasion for exercising his sagacity and tact at bargaining; and, after much debating, the animal was sold for two hundred and fifty piastres. Not long after, the fellah, who had remained in the bazār, saw the Moggrebyn return, mounted on horseback, with a spear in his hand. Riding hastily towards him, the insolent marauder exclaimed — "Dog! and son of a dog! I will burn your father! You have sold me a bad camel, and I must have back my money!" To this uncourteous salutation the fellah replied, that, whatever might be the qualities of the beast, — though he maintained it to be an excellent one, — the Bedouin had purchased it with his eyes open, and should therefore abide by his bargain. A quarrel now ensuing, the peasant, inflamed with anger, drew forth his purse, and, shaking it at his enemy, bade him bring back the camel, and he was ready to refund the money. This was exactly what the Bedouin had anticipated. Stooping suddenly, he snatched the purse out of his hands, and plunging the spear into his heart, rode off into the desert, leaving the body weltering in blood, in the midst of the market-place, surrounded by many hundred people, none of whom made the slightest attempt at arresting the murderer.

DXCI. Entertaining the design — which circumstances prevented our carrying into execution —

of visiting Mount Sinai, and penetrating by the Gulf of Akaba to the Dead Sea, it was requisite to obtain from the Greek bishop, residing at Cairo, a letter of recommendation, without which no traveller is admitted into the convent. Repairing, therefore, with Osman Effendi, to the establishment possessed by the Sinai monks in the capital, situated in one of its most obscure quarters, and being admitted into the outer court, we inquired for the bishop, or principal of the order. A number of Bedouins, and inferior monks of still more sinister aspect, were lounging about the yard; and one of the latter, in reply to our inquiries, directed us to ascend a narrow flight of stairs, but without offering to lead the way. Having mounted to an upper court, a monk of superior grade presented himself, to whom we explained our business. Instead of inviting us into an antechamber, or displaying any thing of that politeness affected by men of his caste in Europe, he abruptly entered, carefully closing the door after him, without condescending even to apologise for his unceremonious conduct. The bishop, who probably had not yet risen, was a considerable time in preparation; but at length the monk reappeared, and, observing that his superior was now ready to receive us, led the way into a very neat apartment, at one end of which was a raised platform, covered with carpets, and surrounded by a divan, while the other extremity exhibited the common stone floor. Here an antique bookcase, ornamented with dusky carving, displayed the scanty conventual library: old folio editions of

the principal fathers of the Greek church, in plain binding, with their titles written on the back on ordinary paper. A few quaint prints of the Virgin and Mount Sinai adorned the walls. In the midst of the apartment stood the bishop, a handsome venerable old man, with long white beard, and comely healthful countenance. He received us very politely, and, conducting us to a seat on the divan, entered at once into a rather animated conversation, one of his monks serving him as interpreter, and Osman performing the same office for us. Though the greater part of his life had probably been spent in Egypt, the bishop appeared to understand no language but his own. His remarks, therefore, were made in modern Greek, translated into Turkish by his interpreter, and afterwards into English by Osman Effendi. Our ideas were conveyed to him in the same circuitous way. Monks, in most countries, are ignorant on all subjects not immediately connected with the temporal interests of the church; but the knowledge possessed by these poor men was scanty even for monks. To our first inquiry respecting the safety of the road to Mount Sinai, they returned a direct and satisfactory answer; but when we proceeded to demand, whether it would be practicable, with a small escort of Bedouins, to traverse the valleys of Ghor and Araba, they appeared not only to be unacquainted with the nature of the country, but with the names and character of the nomadic tribes in their own immediate vicinity. The number of monks in the convents of Sinai and Cairo are about

forty-six, equally divided between the two establishments. From these topics, which they discussed with evident impatience, as possessing not the slightest interest for them, they made an abrupt transition to their own state, and inquired when they were to be emancipated from the yoke of the Turks. It was at first difficult to discover the exact drift of the question: but in the sequel we found that they desired to know how long the English meant to defer the conquest of Egypt. Had we been Frenchmen, the same question, with a slight variation, would probably have been put to us; it being utterly indifferent to them by what nation they are delivered from the yoke of the Mussulman. This was followed by a modest demand for a considerable sum of money; not timidly and bashfully made, as if they doubted the propriety or delicacy of the transaction, but with the most confident assurance, scarcely admitting of any denial, like persons who only require what is due to them. Their appearance, however, presented no indication of poverty; the furniture of the apartment was respectable, and in the centre stood two magnificent silver candelabra.

DXCII. From the convent we proceeded to visit the mad-house, forming one of the wings or outbuildings of a spacious mosque, through the principal entrance to which we were conducted into the court where the insane are confined. In all countries a lunatic asylum constitutes a fearful spectacle, shocking to the feelings, and humiliating to the pride of

humanity. But nowhere, perhaps, on earth can any thing so terrible, so disgusting, be witnessed as the mad-house of Cairo, where, as may be certainly inferred from the ferocious aspect of the keepers, and the appearance of the victims, lacerated and covered with wounds, scenes of cruelty and suffering occur, not elsewhere exhibited out of hell. In the centre of the court is a square pool, sometimes dignified with the name of a fountain; but which, in smell and appearance, rather resembles a cess-pool, or a portion of a common sewer. The atmosphere, impregnated by its infernal exhalations, is consequently more offensive and corrupt than that of a dissecting-room in July; and the walls and pavement are covered with a green ropy matter, and most dismal hue, which prepares the mind for the horrors to be witnessed in the cells. In the face of the dingy wall surrounding the court are a number of square iron-grated holes, which would appear to lead to so many old neglected dens of wild beasts, but that within each, closely pressed, perhaps, against the rusty gratings, a human being is beheld, generally stark naked. From the heavy iron collar encircling his neck is suspended a massive chain, which, issuing through the grating, and running like a festoon along the wall, to the mouth of the neighbouring den, connects him with his next companion in madness; so that, when one retires into the cell, the other, at the opposite end of the chain, is necessarily dragged forward in proportion.

DXCIII. In the first cell, commencing on the right, was a young Arab, sunk in a lethargy from which nothing could rouse him. He turned his eyes after us, as we passed, otherwise he might have been taken for a statue. The next was an Arnaout soldier, who, becoming mad in Candia, had been sent thither by Mohammed Ali, to spend the remainder of his life in chains. He sat cross-legged close to the gratings, perfectly naked, with his arms crossed upon his breast, and his eyes closed, as if in a dream. Being roused, and called upon by name, he slowly opened his eyes, while one of the bystanders presented him with a flower, which he smelled to, and appeared to regard with interest, smiling when addressed, but uttering not a word; and when we quitted him, he again relapsed into his dreamy state. The individual occupying the neighbouring cell, lying in a corner, rolled up in his blanket and mat, lifted up his head when called upon, stared wildly at the spectators, and then, covering himself again, refused to come forth. Seated by the next grating was a youth, about eighteen years old, who, having been forced away from his village, and carried as a conscript to the army, had grown mad with the thoughts of home, but by proper treatment might probably have recovered. Beyond this young man was a lively prating Arab, who related with singular fluency the history of his imprisonment, caused, he assured us, by his sister, who, having led him away from his village, had afterwards entrapped him into this place. To him succeeded another Arab, wanton

as a satyr, equally talkative, and equally mad: but it is impossible to describe, one by one, all the dwellers in this prison-house. The most fearful example of

> "Moody madness, laughing wild
> Amidst severest woe," —

was a Caireen of respectable family, covered with boils and scars, gaunt, emaciated, and consumed by the fever which had destroyed his intellect. His burning eyeballs, bloodshot, and ready to start from their sockets, were rolling wildly, as he exhibited, in the most shocking manner, the loathsomeness of his disorder. Close to this man was a religious fanatic, who, discovering us to be Franks, was lavish in those terms of abuse, which none but a madman could now utter with impunity in Egypt. Among these lunatics, there was one individual, who, having, as he himself related, been guilty of a crime of unspeakable enormity, had been therefore suspected of insanity, and confined in this dismal place, where he was employed in manufacturing hooks and eyes; and, except that he spoke laughingly of his demonial flagitiousness, exhibited no signs of madness. Perhaps, when apprehended, and in danger of condign punishment, he had assumed the appearance of lunacy, to save his forfeit life. The old Arab keeper, who showed us round the building, having been rendered by long habit utterly insensible of the misery he witnessed, laughed heartily at their wild incoherent babbling, which to him was merely matter of amusement. How the wretched creatures are fed and

treated, I know not. The establishment is sometimes visited by medical men; but the mere appearance and economy of the place are a blot on the character of Mohammed Ali, and prove him to be destitute of the ordinary feelings of humanity. His lions and elephant in the citadel are better housed. In the adjoining hospital, the arrangements are somewhat superior; though it may still be doubted whether it be a nuisance or a benefit to the public; the rooms, open in front, and closed at night with a mat, extending round a filthy court, and being furnished each with a stream of water, stinking like a puddle. A few miserable wooden bedsteads stand in the middle of the apartments, which appeared to contain no other convenience. All the patients, several of whom lay stretched, perhaps in malignant fevers, on their shattered couches, exhibited a filthy and squalid appearance, causing us to shudder as we passed. The apartments of the women we did not visit.

DXCIV. From these horrid spectacles, which harrow up and sadden the mind, we proceeded towards the "Tombs of the Khalifs," situated in the sandy plain, about a mile east of the city. The transition to the peace of death, from pain, and suffering, and the extremity of human degradation, seemed to be soothing and agreeable; for "here the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest." The mausolea are many in number, constructed in the purest style of Saracenic architecture, with magnificent domes, spacious areas, and elegant

arcades, surmounted by minarets of great height, and encircled by several tiers of light stone galleries. Narrow winding staircases, the exact counterpart of those in our gothic churches, lead to the summit, with small doorways, at intervals, opening into the galleries, from whence the muezzins once summoned the faithful to prayer. From the top of one of these lofty turrets I enjoyed a varied and extensive view over the tombs, environs, and city of Cairo. The mosque itself — for, like the fanes of antiquity, each structure is at the same time a temple and a tomb — consists of a large quadrangular court, flanked on the east and west by an arcade, with a roof of small cupolas. In the eastern arcade stands the pulpit, constructed in the most chaste and elegant manner with stone, adorned by slender columns, tracery, and sculptured foliage. Edifices like these, from their stately masculine simplicity, deformed by no bestial imagery, awakening no degrading associations, are beheld, in their mouldering decay, with a reverence akin to what we experience in the presence of honourable old age; since they were erected for the service of God, and never polluted by the trace of an idol. The tombs are situated in spacious apartments, and surrounded by a skreen of open woodwork, protecting them from wanton dilapidation. Those of the women, secluded even in death *, stand apart, at the

* A similar feeling prevails in Persia. "Leur jalousie," says Chardin, "va encore plus loin; car, quand ils enterrent les femmes, ils tendent un pavillon autour de la fosse, afin que les assistants ne puissent pas voir le corps enseveli que l'on y descend." — *Voyages en Perse*, vol. x. p. 204.

opposite end of the chamber, where, from a sentiment higher and purer than that of jealousy, their very graves are hidden from the public eye. Delicacy so refined could never, I apprehend, have existed independently of very exalted love. A few devout persons still repair to these mosques to pray; and two or three Arab families, perhaps by hereditary right, perform the pious office of protecting them from profanation.

DXCV. Returning from these splendid monuments, and turning aside towards the right, we visited the spot, where, amid innumerable Mohammedan graves, stands the humble tomb which covers the remains of Burckhardt. It is repaired and kept clean by Osman Effendi, — a personal friend of the traveller, — who has carried his respect for him beyond the grave; and but for whose care it would soon be utterly forgotten, since it is distinguished neither by name nor inscription. A monument, however, is due to Burckhardt; not as a means of augmenting his reputation, — which must be based upon his works, — but as a mark of the gratitude of the English nation, ever ready to do justice to departed merit. The ordinary Turkish tombs differ very little from those in our own churchyards, consisting of a slab, with an upright columnar stone at either end; the one at the head being surmounted by a larger turban over a male, and a smaller one over a female grave. In some cases, the tombs of women are adorned with the figure of a rose,

probably emblematic of the virgin state. All these tombs being hollow, with a small arched opening at either end, are inhabited by dogs, jackals, snakes, and other beasts and reptiles. The object of those apertures I was unable to discover; most probably there is some superstition at the bottom; but hence it is that Mohammedan cemeteries are the constant haunt of wild beasts.

DXCVI. In returning to the city, we passed the *Bab el Footoor*, one of those beautiful Saracenic gates, erected by the old sultans of Egypt, of which a very small number now remain. It terminates above in a perfect arch, adorned with an astragal and serpentine fillet, alternating with a band of open lozenges, each containing a rosette, a star, or some similar object. Other elegant and tasteful ornaments enrich the higher portions of the gateway, which may be considered as a magnificent specimen of Oriental architecture. Proceeding westward along the walls, we traversed the *Khalish*, or great canal, which intersects the road, and is lined on either side, throughout the greater part of its course, by houses and gardens of a mean appearance: the water was now green and stinking, evidently deteriorating the air, and stunting the vegetation on its banks, where the plants and trees were discoloured and withered. In fact, the Khalish, as Clarke very justly observes, is a filthy ditch, which would be regarded as a nuisance in any country in the civilised world. Yet

here it was that Burckhardt selected his place of residence, in the vilest and most unhealthy quarter of Cairo, where the very atmosphere is pestilential, and must constantly induce dysentery and malignant fevers.

CHAPTER XIII.

PRINCIPAL BAZĀR OF CAIRO — ITINERANT AUCTIONEERS — MANUSCRIPTS OF THE KORĀN — BAZARS THRONGED WITH LADIES — ELEGANT FEMALE COSTUME — SLAVE MARKET — IDEAS OF THE ORIENTALS RESPECTING SLAVERY — APPEARANCE OF BLACK FEMALE SLAVES — ABYSSINIAN GIRLS — GREEK YOUTHS — DISINGENUITY OF THE PASHA — HISTORY OF A GREEK LADY AND HER SON — EXTRAORDINARY HISTORY OF ANOTHER GREEK FAMILY — ESCAPE FROM THE HAREM — APOSTASY — ARTIFICIAL HATCHING OF CHICKENS — HATCHING OVENS — PROCESS OF HATCHING — NUMBER OF EGGS — VALLEY OF THE WANDERINGS — OSTREA DILUVIANA — IMMENSE AGATISED TREES — RED HILL — ANCIENT FERTILITY OF THE DESERT — FORESTS OF UNKNOWN TREES.

DXCVII. AMONG the bazārs of Cairo, the principal and most frequented appears to be the one situated near the slave market. Here we observed what in this country are termed auctions: that is, a man having a shāwl, a gun, a turban, or any other object, for sale, stands up in the bazār, and inquires who will bid for it. Some person says, "one piastre;" another, "two;" while the seller, holding up the article, walks to and fro, proclaiming the highest sum offered, until he is satisfied with the price. The throng in this bazār was so dense, that it required some patience and physical power to force a way through. One of the itinerant chapmen was a book-

seller, whose stock consisted of certain manuscript copies of the Koran, enclosed in beautiful cases of embroidered silk or cloth of gold. On my expressing a desire to purchase one of the volumes, he drew the Koran out of the case, and, thrusting the manuscript into his bosom, presented me with the envelope; steadily refusing, even for the love of gain, to place the holy volume in the hands of a Christian. Indeed, he would not even allow me to look at it. The different parts of the bazār are divided from each other by heavy iron chains, suspended across the passages, about three feet and a half from the ground, beneath which it is necessary to stoop. Here the thronging and pressing is commonly so great, particularly among the women, who constitute the principal population of the bazārs, that many a lady of rank must frequently, I apprehend, lose her slippers in the crowd.* The appearance of the shops, when viewed separately, is far from splendid; no one merchant making any extraordinary display of wealth, or imagining that a profusion of mirrors, or costly gilding, could, in the eyes of his customers, enhance the value of his merchandise. But the general aspect of the bazār is highly striking and picturesque, from the extraordinary mingling of races, complexions, and costumes exhibited; where the half-naked negro, the tattered Arab, the Turk with flowing drapery and majestic beard, and the Greek in his gorgeous

* As sometimes happened, according to the New Arabian Nights, in the bazārs of Irak. "More than one lady of rank lost her slippers in the crowd."—*Story of Ardashīr*, i. 78.

and glittering dress, are beheld moving among crowds of ladies, whose black caftans, or mantles, open in front, disclose their pink silk garments, and the rich brilliant shawls encircling their loins.

DXCVIII. From this gay lively scene we proceeded to the slave market, where men, women, and children, huddled together on the ground, are exposed for sale, like so many litters of pigs. To declaim upon the horrors of slavery, among nations who indulge in this unnatural luxury, — for the sale of man by man is repugnant to nature, — would be perfectly fruitless; the only practicable remedy being, to enlighten and purify the minds of the enslavers, who, in intellectual and moral dignity, are commonly upon a par with their victims. Philanthropy, and elevated rational views concerning the nature and duties of man, constitute true wisdom, which, though universally affected in civilised countries, is the genuine apanage of few. Among the Orientals it is so utterly unknown, that even hypocrisy does not assume it as a mask. The thorough barbarian, guided from the cradle to the grave by custom, pretends not, indeed, to judge for himself; it is enough for him to know, on any occasion, how his ancestors acted, that he may blindly and servilely tread in their footsteps; and when such is the principle of action, the individual whom it influences must be regarded rather as a brute pursuing its natural instincts, than as an intellectual and rational being. Vehemently to blame or upbraid him, therefore, would be as unreasonable as to vilify

an ass for braying, or a cat for catching mice; the result, in all these cases, proceeding from a natural propensity.

DXCIX. But the slave markets which I have visited presented not the melancholy harrowing spectacle I had anticipated. We, indeed, regarding a number of our fellow-creatures, reduced by the chances of war, or the avarice of their parents or chiefs, to a level with the beasts of the field, converted into an article of traffic, transported from their country, houseless, friendless, defenceless, exposed to the brutal misrule of men hardened by a long career of profligacy and crime; *we*, I say, beholding this, and reflecting what, under similar circumstances, our own feelings would be, conceive that the minds of these poor savages must be a prey to the most exquisite anguish. Happily it is not so. "God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb." To the prisoner, the bondman, the slave, a bluntness of feeling, an absolute insensibility to the horrors of his position, is mercifully awarded; so that, when exempt from physical suffering, he is commonly happy, or, at least, enjoys a species of animal satisfaction, the highest of which his uncultivated nature is capable.

DC. The slaves now exposed were chiefly women, or, rather, girls, from Abyssinia, and other countries of the interior. Some few, being unwell, were confined in a small room, apart from the rest; and these appeared to be gloomy and dejected, dwelling,—as

is natural in sickness, — on the thoughts of home, and the parents and friends whom they had lost for ever. The others, whether Abyssinians or negresses, being formed by habit and education for slavery, seemed perfectly at their ease, and, though of various characters and temperaments, had as sleek and wanton an air as any of the free women around them. Between the negresses and Abyssinians there was, however, this difference, that the former displayed a coolness bordering on apathy, and a lasciviousness void of passion; while the small delicate features and fiery eyes of the latter betokened an impassioned and vigorous character; though, like the others, they appeared to support their misfortunes with exemplary equanimity. When a buyer presents himself, and singles out from among the crowd a young woman who pleases his eye, she is commanded by the slave-merchant to rise, in some instances to remove her only covering, and exhibit every part of her person.

> "Cois tibi pœnè vidère est
> Ut nudam."

If the price be agreed on, her removal immediately follows, — for the money being paid, it would be dangerous to leave her an hour in the hands of persons so unprincipled as the Jellabis, — otherwise she returns to the mat, and resumes her seat with the utmost indifference. Just as we entered, the bargain had been concluded for a little negress. Having counted out the price, her purchaser, an elderly old villain, resembling one of the Jews in Annibale Caracci's "Susannah and the two Elders," tapping her lightly on the shoulder,

bade her rise and follow him. Rejoiced at having found a master, she hastily wrapped her garment about her, and departed, apparently without casting a single glance at her companions.

DCI. Most of the Europeans in Cairo, — who, leaving their own countries without any fixed opinions, easily adopt those of the Orientals, — endeavour to palliate the deformities of slavery by dwelling on the habitual kindness of the Turks towards their dependants. But should they, on the contrary, be cruel and merciless, what is to prevent them ? It is known with what design young and beautiful boys are purchased. Is this what is called being kind and indulgent ? We are, indeed, told, as a presumptive proof of the humanity of the Turks, that, on all occasions, their youthful slaves display the utmost fidelity and attachment towards their owners ; but, degraded, humiliated, infamous, with no place, save their master's house, wherein to hide their heads, they are constrained to nourish some kind of attachment for that house, the only one on earth where their infamy is no bar to advancement. This is the origin of their fidelity. Among these youths, the greater number are Greeks, whom Otho, if he would deserve the crown bestowed on him, should peremptorily demand from the Pasha. It is reported that ten thousand individuals of this unhappy nation still remain in slavery in Egypt, notwithstanding the efforts made by Europe to redeem and return them to their friends, and the delusive professions of the Pasha and

his family; who, when they pretended, a few years ago, to deliver up their Greek slaves, are said to have made an exception of all those possessing youth or beauty. I have seen, in Cairo, young men and boys, kidnapped in their infancy, who, though the names of their parents, and the place of their birth, had been obliterated from their memory, still cherished the recollection that they were of the Greek race. One of these was a little Candiot, whom a Turkish officer had captured during the troubles in Crete, and sent, like a dog or monkey, as a present to his wife, who for this reason refused to part with him; otherwise he would have been ransomed, and set at liberty.

DCII. A short time ago, a Greek lady of rank and distinction, and a widow, learning that one of her sons, taken during the war, was a slave in a Turkish family at Alexandria, proceeded to Egypt with the design of rescuing him. Application, in the first instance, was made to the Pasha, who refused to interfere with the household affairs of his subjects. Captain Lyons, of the Madagascar, and the British Consul-General, likewise applied in vain; Mohammed Ali regarding the right of enslaving men as something too sacred to be meddled with. The mother, however, hoping even against hope, remained two or three years at Alexandria, and at length, I know not how, contrived to obtain possession of her child, with whom she took refuge at the British consulate. Against this flagrant invasion of the right of property the Turks inveighed with great vehemence,

insisting, in a lofty tone, that the boy should immediately be delivered up to his owners; to which the consul replied, that all persons residing in his house were under the protection of the British flag, which they saw waving over its roof; that he was bound to yield no man an account of his household; and if they infringed his consular privileges, they would do so at their peril. This putting a stop to the insolence of the Turks, the lady shortly afterwards departed with her child.

DCIII. Another case, still more distressing, came partly under my own observation at Cairo. Being one evening at the house of the French consul, a Greek, escorted by one of the Janissaries of the consulate, came to claim, upon I know not what grounds, the protection of France. He was a man whose appearance would have attracted attention in the midst of ten thousand. Considerably below the middle size, with large head, black piercing eyes, thick shaggy eyebrows, stooping in the shoulders, and past the prime of life, he nevertheless possessed a proud commanding air, as if accustomed to the exercise of authority. Standing before the consul, leaning on his staff, like a wayfaring man, he related his story with so eloquent, so ingenious a simplicity, while his rough weatherbeaten cheeks were frequently moistened with tears, that I felt deeply interested in his fate. Ten years ago, he said, his wife and infant daughter, having been made prisoners by the Turks, were carried away into captivity, and sold as

slaves. During nine years all his inquiries and researches respecting them had proved unavailing; but at length, about seven or eight months previous, he accidentally discovered that they were in the house — in the harem — of a Turk of distinction at Cairo. Whatever were his pursuits, his occupations, his hopes and prospects in life, he relinquished them, and journeyed into Egypt, in the hope of recovering possession of, perhaps, the only individuals dear to him in the world. By dint of untiring assiduity, he succeeded in conveying to his wife, though secluded in the recesses of the harem, the intelligence of his being in the city; and it now remained to be seen whether nine years of captivity and degradation had obliterated the remembrance of her lawful and long-cherished affections. The woman, as her husband never once doubted, remaining unchanged, his presence in Cairo determined her, at all hazards, to attempt escape, and fly to his arms. But there were two obstacles. Greek women, faithful like her, had more than once succeeded in escaping from the harems; but their very garments being the property of their masters, they had not only been retaken and forced back into slavery, but furthermore punished as thieves. Besides, her daughter, now twelve or thirteen years old, had been artfully prevailed upon to make profession of Islamism, and to shun her mother, whose reproaches, mild as they must have been, she could not patiently endure. For some time, however, the mother entertained the hope of reawakening her natural affections, and making her the companion of

her flight; but at length, despairing of success, she effected her escape alone, clad in a single garment, and took refuge with her husband in the house of a Frank. Being poor and friendless, they had been unable to make their way to the seashore; and their humble retreat having been at length discovered, the husband was now come to claim the protection of the French consul for his wife. Up to this time, he observed, they had willingly lingered, imagining it still possible that their daughter — an only child — might repent, and join them; but, since she appeared to have voluntarily forsaken her parents, her country, and her God, he had now resolved, however bitter it might be, to abandon all hope of her for ever. The consul, already well disposed to exercise his authority in behalf of the unhappy Greek, pledged himself, at my earnest request, to protect him and his wife; and though, when I left, they were still in the city, I make no doubt of their ultimate good fortune.

DCIV. From the slave market, the appearance of which suggested the above details, we proceeded into the suburbs, near the Khalish, where chickens are artificially hatched. To this purpose a large but mean building is appropriated; before the door of which we found two government *chaooshes*, appointed to watch over the interests of the Pasha, to whom belong all establishments by which any thing can be gained. The Arab overseer, saucy and avaricious, like the underlings of all despotic governments, required, before he would admit us, a present of fifty

piastres; precisely in the insolent overbearing style of behaviour adopted towards Christians in former years. Two words, however, — *Habib Effendi* and the *koorbash*, — sufficed to dissipate his illusion, and to teach him that times had changed. With a shrug, and, perhaps, a secret curse against the Pasha, for protecting Franks from contumely and extortion, he civilly led the way towards the ovens, which, though highly curious and useful, display externally but a very sorry appearance.

DCV. The hatching oven consists of a suite of small square chambers, or cells, arranged on either side of a long passage, into which they open; the doorway, when there are eggs within, being closed with mats. In some of the chambers the eggs had been newly put in, and were perfectly white; in others, having already undergone many changes, they exhibited a dirty yellow colour; while, in several cells, the embryo having been warmed into life, had shattered its prison, and was emerging through the broken shell. Nothing is more common than the process of incubation, which, in fact, falls under the eye of every man; and the principle of the Egyptian hatching-ovens, in which a heated atmosphere performs the office of the hen, is also generally understood; yet I could not behold without admiration a thick stratum of eggs, acted upon by an invisible fluid, bursting into spontaneous motion, rolling against each other, cracking, opening, and disclosing each an organised and animated being. As soon as the chick-

ens are out of the shell, they are carefully removed into the passage, which is divided into numerous compartments by small ridges of clay; from whence, when a few days old, they are drafted off into cooler quarters. The passage, at the time of our visit, was filled with chickens; of which there must have been many thousands, not more than one day old, chirping, moving about, and nestling against each other. Stones placed at intervals, like stepping stones in a brook, enabled us to traverse the several compartments. A number of low subterranean cells, in which an equal temperature is maintained by fires of dung, communicate a sufficient heat to the hatching-rooms by apertures in the floor. Few persons can endure, for any length of time, the intense heat of these ovens. We were glad to make our escape; and, on issuing forth into the streets, —after making our saucy Arab a handsome present,—we found the atmosphere of Cairo, at noon, cool and refreshing. Respecting this process, many erroneous ideas are prevalent in Europe. It has been supposed that the secret, as it is termed, is known only to the inhabitants of a few villages in the Delta, who, dispersing themselves over the country in autumn, undertake the management of such eggs as are entrusted to their care: but there is no secret in the matter, and the eggs are thus hatched by the inhabitants in all parts of Egypt. In the oven we examined there were at least twenty cells, each, perhaps, containing five thousand eggs; so that, should they all take, one hundred thousand chickens would be produced

in twenty-one days; or one million seven hundred thousand per annum, supposing the process to go on without intermission. Two hundred similar ovens, kept in constant operation, would, therefore, hatch, in the year, three hundred and forty millions of chickens; so that were this practice introduced into England, it would very speedily reduce the price of poultry.

DCVI. In the Valley of the Wanderings, extending from the vicinity of Toura to the Red Sea, are found the remains of extensive forests, overthrown and converted into agate, which we were desirous of visiting. Several of the Franks of Cairo, who seldom venture beyond their thresholds unattended by a host of guides, understanding our intention, prophesied we should all be murdered in this perilous adventure, unless protected by an escort of Mahazi Bedouins—the lords paramount of the whole desert lying between the latitudes of Cairo and Kosseir. Accustomed, however, to their credulity and exaggeration, which, at an earlier stage of our journey, might have deceived us, we slighted their prognostications, and proceeded on the excursion with our ordinary Arab attendants and usual arms. Quitting the city by the Gate of the Citadel, and traversing the great Mamalook cemetery, we turned off to the left, a little beyond Toura, and entered among the rocky hollows of the desert, where the ground is strewed with fragments of crystal, and large beds of the *ostrea diluviana*. The mouth of the valley is of

considerable breadth, and the hilly chain constituting its northern boundary abrupt and rugged, being intersected by numerous deep and rocky ravines, through which the gazelles descend at night into the plain. In all places frequented by these animals, we observe the same contrivances for destroying them,—small semicircular breastworks, behind which the sportsmen lie in wait for their game.

DCVII. Having advanced some distance into the valley, in many places divided by intervening ridges into several parallel channels, we arrived among the petrifactions, scattered over the ground in large blocks of various forms. The exterior of the stone exhibits the appearance and colour of wood; while the interior, resembling flint or agate, is often singularly variegated. In some specimens, we observed the knots and roots of the tree, twisted and interlaced; in others, a straight fine grain, and, in a third sort,—by far the most plentiful,—the loose fibrous texture characteristic of palm wood. Hitherto, however, though we had advanced several miles up the valley, none of those immense trees, spoken of at Cairo, appeared. We therefore continued in the same direction, until, in passing the entrance to a narrow opening, we discovered in the distance a small bright red hill, which, viewed in contrast with the surrounding grey rooks, seemed to have been drenched with showers of blood. Though this is not the place where the petrifactions are usually sought, the extraordinary aspect of the hill induced us to diverge from our

course; and immediately, almost in the mouth of the gorge, we discovered enormous trees, bared of their branches, overthrown, and converted into stone. Several of the trunks measured three feet in diameter, and from forty to fifty-two feet in length; in some cases presenting the appearance of having been sawn into various lengths; in others, particularly on the slope of the hills, seeming to have been overthrown in their petrified state by floods or hurricanes, and shattered to fragments in their fall. It is, moreover, worthy of remark, that, in all cases which came under my notice, the roots of the trees point towards the Red Sea, and their summit towards Egypt. Few of these larger petrifactions are palms, though we observed one specimen, three feet and a half in length, which displayed all the rough annular appearance of the date tree, whose branches had been lopped off, according to the present fashion. The greater number are a species of tree no longer known in Egypt. A petrified peg, or wedge, picked up by Dr. Hogg, contained two pieces of rusty iron nail. The tops of the hills, the beds of the torrents, the hollows, glens, and ravines, are profusely covered with these petrifactions; which would seem, in most instances, to have been transmuted in an upright position, and afterwards cast down and broken. All this portion of the desert, therefore, must once have been fertile, and covered with forests*; though, in

* The old priest of Sais, who, in the Timæus of Plato, relates so many extraordinary things to Solon, alludes to a tradition at-

process of time, the vegetation has disappeared, and the soil, scorched and deprived of moisture by the sun, has lost the power of production. On arriving at the red hill, we found it to be a hemispherical eminence, covered with a thick coating of vermilion-tinted clay, which might, perhaps, be advantageously employed in the manufacture of porcelain.

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tributing the devastation of these mountainous tracts to some marvellous change in the course of nature, and the too near approach of the sun. Some obscure notion of this kind the Greeks enveloped in the poetical fable of Phaëton. He further observes that, when the low lands were devastated by a deluge, the shepherds and herdsmen removed to the mountains, and were there saved from destruction; consequently those mountains could not have been wholly destitute of vegetation: "ἡμῖν δὲ ὁ Νεῖλος," says he, "εἰς τε τἆλλα σωτὴρ καὶ τότε ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ἀπορίας σώζει λυόμενος. Ὅταν δ' αὖ οἱ θεοὶ τὴν γῆν ὕδασι καθαίροντες κατακλύζωσιν, οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι διασώζονται βουκόλοι νομεῖς τε, οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς παρ' ὑμῖν πόλεσιν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ὑπὸ τῶν ποταμῶν φέρονται." — *Platonis Opera*, pt. iii. vol. ii. p. 13. *Edit. Imm. Bekk.*

CHAPTER XIV.

MOHAMMEDAN PLACES OF WORSHIP — CHRISTIANS PROHIBITED THE ENTRANCE OF — THE AUTHOR ADOPTS THE DISGUISE OF A TURK, AND VISITS THE MOST CELEBRATED MOSQUES OF CAIRO — THE MOSQUE OF FLOWERS — DESCRIPTION OF THE INTERIOR — FEMALE WORSHIPPERS — STUDENTS OF VARIOUS NATIONS — MOSQUE OF SULTAN HASSAN — HISTORY OF THE FOUNDER — MARBLE TABERNACLE — BEAUTIFUL FOUNTAIN — SANCTUARY — TOMB OF THE SULTAN — ANTIQUE COPY OF THE KORAN — MOSQUE OF ALMANSOOR KALAWNI — TALISMANIC RELICS — ISLAND OF RHAOUDA — TOWER OF THE NILOMETER — ELEVATION OF THE BED OF THE NILE — DEPARTURE FROM CAIRO — FAIR OF TANTA — EMBARK ON THE MAHMOODYIAH — NAVIGATION OF THE CANAL — ARRIVAL AT ALEXANDRIA — FORMATION OF THE MAHMOODYIAH — TYRANNY OF THE GOVERNMENT — DEATH OF TWENTY-THREE THOUSAND PERSONS, WHO WERE BURIED IN THE EMBANKMENTS — PLAN FOR PRESERVING THE CANAL — ANECDOTE OF A TURKISH ENGINEER — SLOPE OF THE BED OF THE MAHMOODYIAH, AND OF THE VALLEY OF THE NILE.

DCVIII. FORMERLY, a Christian traveller discovered in a mosque would have been considered guilty of sacrilege, and compelled to abjure his religion, or lose his life; and, even at the present day, Christians are rigidly prohibited the entry of all Mohammedan places of worship, so that, to obtain admission, they must adopt the disguise of a native. Having, accordingly, assumed the Turkish costume, and received from the governor an officer to accompany me, I visited, shortly before my departure, the two most

remarkable mosques of Cairo; the interior of which few travellers have beheld, and none described. The first I. entered was the celebrated mosque of *El Azhar*, or, "of Flowers," founded A.H. 358 (A.D. 968), during the reign of Ali, the grandson of Akhshid*, three years before the commencement of the Fatimite dynasty. On arriving at the gateway, we doffed our slippers, and entered a marble-paved court, surrounded by an elegant colonnade, the entablature of which is adorned with arabesques of a bright red colour. Numbers of poor Musulmans, maintained by the charity of the foundation, were lying asleep on mats in various parts of the area; while others, in their immediate vicinity, were engaged in prayer. To avoid attracting the attention of the fanatical worshippers, we passed on rapidly, as if brought thither by devotion, and, traversing the court, proceeded into the body of the mosque, where a numerous congregation was assembled. Contrary to the ideas commonly prevailing in Europe, a large portion of the votaries consisted of ladies, who were walking to and fro without the slightest restraint, conversing with each other, and mingling freely among the men. The pulpit, constructed entirely of

* Among the Fargani the title *Akhshid*, according to the Arabic writers, resembled the Cæsar of the Romans, and the Chosroes of the Persians. The founder of the Akhshid dynasty in Egypt was Aboubekr Ibn Taji; who, having, during many years, exercised the supreme power, died in A.H. 334. His successors, like the *rois fainéans* of France, were only so many royal shadows, the real authority being possessed by *Kafoor*, a black, who died in A.H. 358, the year in which El Azhar was founded. — *Jemaleddin. Annal. Ægypt.* note, pp. 2, 3.

stone, adorned with slender pillars, and beautifully carved, greatly resembles the *suggesti* of Catholic churches, and stands at the extremity of the building, directly opposite the entrance. Numerous rows of marble columns, about two feet in diameter, extend the whole length of the edifice, supporting the roof, and creating an idea of grandeur: the pavement, likewise, is of marble. But the height of the mosque corresponds not with the extent of the ground-plan; and this imperfection diminishes the effect which its forest of pillars and tasteful ornaments would otherwise produce.

DCIX. Though originally erected for purposes of devotion, the mosques are often converted into caravanserais; where persons, having no other home, may sleep and eat, listen to the relations of the story-teller, or transact business. In the time of Van Egmont, it was said, that between five and six thousand persons received their daily subsistence from the mosque of El Azhar; while two thousand slept nightly within its walls. The individuals attached to its service, and those who partook of its bounties, amounted to forty thousand, though many of them lived in distant parts of the country.* Though

* Travels, vol. ii. p. 67. — He adds: "This opulent mosque is, however, a very terrible structure to strangers not acquainted with the customs of the country; for, if any person happens to enter it, he is immediately thrown into prison, where he has no other choice than to turn Mohammedan, or suffer death." It was here that the women assembled tumultuously, in 1814, upon the promulgation of the ordonnance of Mohammed Ali, appropriating to himself the whole landed property in Egypt.

less rich and flourishing than formerly, this establishment is still considerable, and contains several colleges, where the ulemas lecture on the Koran and the laws. In other respects, it resembles a caravanserai, divided into several quarters, appropriated to the students of different nations,—the Persians, the Turks, the Syrians, the Nubians, &c.,—who are supported by the revenues of the mosque. Each division is under the superintendence of a nazir, subordinate to the principal director. On every alternate day, three thousand eight hundred pounds of bread, and a quantity of oil for the lamps, are distributed; besides which the students receive monthly a small stipend. The whole annual expenditure is estimated at six hundred and thirty thousand piastres, partly furnished by the government, and partly arising from the rent of houses, shops, and warehouses, bequeathed to the charity by pious individuals.* For the convenience of the crowds who frequent the establishment, numerous entrances have been made on all sides.†

DCX. We next proceeded to the mosque of Sultan Hassan, erected near the gate leading to the citadel. The history of the founder of this magnificent structure presents a striking example of the instability of oriental despots. Succeeding his brother Hajjî, murdered, in A. H. 748, Hassan exercised the supreme authority during three years; when he was deprived

* The *rizaks*, the majority of which are now government property.

† *Mengin, Histoire de l'Egypte, &c.* tom. ii. p. 327.

of the sceptre by his brother Al Salah: but this prince, ignorant of the art of reigning, being, in A.H. 755, dethroned and imprisoned, Hassan was a second time invested with the purple. Sedition, however, and dissensions between the Sultan and the chief of his Mamalooks arising, a civil war ensued, and the prince, defeated by his slave, was compelled to seek for safety in flight, and an obscurity from which he never again emerged.* The mosque, built in the form of a parallelogram, is exceedingly lofty, and surrounded by a projecting cornice and frieze, ornamented with arabesques; and its minarets, surpassing all others in height, are the first which the traveller beholds on approaching the city. Ascending a long flight of steps, and passing under a magnificent doorway, we entered the vestibule, and proceeded towards the sacred portion of the edifice; where, on stepping over a small railing, it was necessary to take off our *babooshes*, or red Turkish shoes. Here we beheld a spacious square court, paved with marble of various colours, fancifully arranged, with a beautiful octagonal marble fountain in the centre, surmounted by a cupola of airy proportions, resting on slender pillars. On each side of this area is an extremely lofty arched recess, judiciously introduced for the purpose of breaking up the uniformity of the enormous walls.

* Jemaleddin, Annales Ægyptiacæ, pp. 82. 85. The expense attending the erection of this edifice was immense; amounting, it is said, to 1000 mitkals of gold per day. As the mosque was three years in building, the whole cost would be 219,000 ounces of gold; or about 750,000*l.* sterling.

DCXI. At the extremity of the court, and entirely open to it, is a large apartment, containing a small marble tabernacle, surrounded by slender tapering columns; with a tasteful and finely sculptured pulpit. Numerous Arabic sentences are written on the walls in letters of gold; and below, scratched with pen or pencil, are the names of various devotees; near which, in defiance of the prohibition of the prophet, I observed an attempt at delineating the human figure. Massive doors of bronze, elegantly ornamented, close the entrance into the sanctuary; into which, from motives of piety or prudence, my Turkish conductor was unwilling to introduce me. To behold this, however, having been my principal object, I addressed myself directly to the keeper of the mosque, at the risk of being discovered; and, somewhat to the surprise of the Turk, obtained instant permission to enter. Here, in the centre of the apartment, and surrounded by a neat railing, stands the tomb of Sultan Hassan*; though, according to Jemaleddin, he disappeared, after his defeat by Yelbog, the Mamalook, and was never afterwards heard of. The cenotaph, constructed in a simple style, with a short pillar at either end, is of pure marble, without name or monumental inscription. On the plain slab was placed an antique manuscript copy of the Koran, in

* "Rebus suis denique inclinatis, ac viribus omninò fractis, salutem fugâ petiit Sultanus. At non multò post, à Yelbogâ comprehensus fuit, et sacramentum fidei quod illi (cui Deus misericordiam adhibeat!) præstiterant, abrogandum statuunt Emiri. Sultanatus Hhasani secundus, tres annos, septem menses, atque unum diem duravit. Locum verò quo se recepit nemo compertum habuit." — *Ann. Ægypt.* p. 85.

heavy massive binding, resembling that of our ancestors, in which oak supplied the place of millboard. Before I was permitted to touch this sacred relic, the keeper of the mosque, whose suspicions were evidently excited, explicitly demanded of my companion what were my religion and country. Without the slightest hesitation, he replied, "He is a Turk from Stambool:" upon which the Koran was placed in my hands. The manuscript, which was of fine parchment, and many centuries old, was written partly with ink, and partly in gold characters, and beautifully illuminated with stars of bright blue, purple, and gold. These tasteful ornaments, varying in size from that of a crown-piece to sixpence, studded the pages and the margin, but varied only in dimension, the pattern being always the same. The title-page, slightly torn, exhibited a glittering mass of gilding, intermingled with arabesques in brilliant colours. Turning from the tomb to the apartment itself, I admired the simple beauty of the dome, springing from a square basis, adorned above at each angle with an ornament consisting of a cluster of octagonal bronze pipes of different lengths. Every thing throughout the building displays a severe masculine taste, suggesting the idea of a fortress rather than a mere place of worship; and it is related that, in the seditions and revolutions which burst forth during the decline of the Mamalook empire, this mosque, like the temple of Jerusalem, was frequently taken possession of by the insurgents.

DCXII. The famous Sultan Almansoor Kalawni, who defeated the Tartars in a great battle near Homs, in Syria, likewise erected, A. H. 683 (A. D. 1282), a mosque, which still retains its celebrity. In the month Shaban of the previous year, Almansoor had narrowly escaped death, from an inundation at Damascus; and in gratitude, perhaps, for this interposition of Providence, he commanded the edifice to be built. Kalawni having, as Mengin observes, possessed a considerable knowledge of medicine, they still preserve in the mosque several of his caftans, and his broad leathern girdle, formerly encrusted with plates of gold. A talismanic virtue being attributed to these relics, the sick of both sexes repair with great devotion to the mosque; where, for a trifling present to the keeper, they are permitted to don a moth-eaten caftan, and bind the girdle round their waists. Other miracles are operated in this sacred building. At the threshold of the door is a slab of red marble, upon which a few drops of water being poured, and rubbed with a mysterious stone, preserved for the purpose, acquire a reddish hue. This water, dropped into the mouth, is supposed to be a remedy for the cough. In the interior are two columns, one of which, if touched by the tongue of the patient, cures the jaundice; the other, like the lingam of Hindoostan, and the fascinum of the Romans, removes barrenness in women; who, when thus afflicted, press a citron against the pillar and swallow the juice.*

* Jemaleddin, Annales Ægyptiacæ, p. 43. — Mengin, Hist. de l'Egypte, &c. tom. ii. p. 326. — Antiquit. Middleton, pp. 66. 71.

DCXIII. On the same day of my visit to the mosques, I also went over to the island of *Rhouda*, the greater part of which is now laid out in pleasure gardens in the English style. At the southern extremity the Pasha has erected powder-mills; near which is the tower of the Nilometer, or Mekyas, a marble pillar divided into cubits and inches, for ascertaining the rise of the river. It stands in a deep square basin, and, in A.D. 847, the year of its erection, its base was on a level with the surface of the river, at low Nile. Formerly, as we learn from the Nubian geographer, an elegant cupola was erected over the cistern, ornamented with arabesques in gold, blue, and other colours; but this no longer exists. A square beam, passing from wall to wall, as represented in Pococke's engraving, rests on the top of the column, and is now, perhaps, necessary to keep it erect, but greatly detracts from the beauty of its appearance. We descend into the well by a flight of steps, once an ornament to the building, but at present neglected and covered with mud. The water, like that of the Khalish, having been long stagnant, was green and fetid; and the whole place, like all other public works in this country, had an appearance of dilapidation and decay. On the steps of the Nilometer, Moses, according to the traditions of the country, was discovered by Pharaoh's daughter in the ark of bulrushes.

DCXIV. Authors have launched into extremely strange speculations on the inundations of the Nile,

and the rise of the land of Egypt. Herodotus acquaints us, says Dr. Shaw, that, in the reign of Myris, if the Nile rose to the height of eight cubits, all the lands of Egypt were sufficiently watered; but that, in his time (which was not quite nine hundred years after Myris), the country was not covered with less than 15 or 16 cubits of water. The addition of soil, therefore, by supposing them to have been 15 only, will be 7 Grecian cubits, or 120 inches, in the space of nine hundred years. About Myris, however, and the ages anterior to Herodotus, nothing is known with certainty; but since, in early times, Egypt, like all other vallies, was lowest in the centre, it would then have required a greater rise in the river to inundate the same extent of ground, than it does at present; and the accumulation of soil, far from opposing the spread of the waters, as Dr. Shaw supposes, tends most materially to facilitate it. For, by the constant elevation of its bed, which rises even more rapidly than the surrounding country, the Nile now flows along a kind of ridge, from which the water descends to the desert on either side. Supposing the statement of Herodotus to be correct, as far as regarded the appearance of the inundation on the Nilometer, it would be necessary to conclude, not that a greater rise was required to cover the country, but that the base of the column erected in the time of Myris was, in his time, 126 inches below the level of the Nile. In process of time, therefore, since, while the bed of the stream is incessantly rising, the base of the Nilometer continues the same, the whole column will be

entirely buried. To approach any thing like exactness, having ascertained the rate at which the soil accumulates, the figures on the Nilometer should be periodically accommodated to the change in the level of the country. It is, however, probable that the Nile now brings down with it much less earth than in former ages; and that, in time, the whole process must entirely cease, and Egypt be reduced to the condition of other inundated lands.

DCXV. Having abandoned the project of visiting Mount Sinai and Syria, and taken my leave of Monro, who was proceeding to Palestine, I quitted Cairo, Sunday, March 31st, and embarked on the Nile for Alexandria. It was with much difficulty that a boat could be procured, owing to the multitude of persons of both sexes, who, attracted partly by devotion, partly by commerce, were proceeding on pilgrimage to Tanta, in the Delta, where a great fair, like that of Haridwara, in Hindoostan, is held twice a year; at the vernal and autumnal equinoxes. These fairs, which last fifteen days, draw together a great concourse of people—greater, perhaps, in the autumn than in the spring, but both are numerously attended. Nearly every boat in Boolak was occupied, or, rather, thronged with men, women, and children, decked in their holiday costume, all with gay excited looks, like the old Egyptians during the festival of Boubasta. Setting sail about eleven o'clock, in an hour we passed the Pasha's villa at Shoubra, which, with its numerous windows and projecting roof, presents a neat appearance when

viewed from the river. Close to the palace, on a series of arches, are several sakias, which, by means of a chain of pots, as in Joseph's well, raise sufficient water for the gardens. About one o'clock we reached the point of the Delta; where, on a steep projection of the bank, stood one solitary ibis, white as snow, whose ancestor, on the same spot, had received the adoration of the mariner of old. Looking back towards Cairo, I could still discover in the distance the summit of Mount Mokattam; but I was now hastening towards other mountains, — to my home among the Alps of Switzerland, — and bade adieu with delight to the "Victorious City," and the splendour and marvels of its vicinity. Sunset was fine, but accompanied by nothing of that magnificence observable in Upper Egypt.

DCXVI. Sailing all night, we had, at day-break, reached the village of Nadir, and, the wind proving fair, continued making considerable way during the whole morning. Passed several small flat fishing-boats, formed of reeds or bulrushes, ingeniously bound together, which are propelled by paddles, and carry each two men. In sailing along the high banks of the Delta, we observed, where the river had recently undermined a portion of the shore, that the alluvial soil is disposed in numerous exceedingly thin strata of different colours; the superior layers being darker than those below. Here the siksak is found in great numbers. The village of *Mishli*, a miserable collection of huts, placed in Colonel Leake's

map at some distance from the river, is now on its banks. To the north of Mishli, the shores of the Delta present a more fertile appearance, being thickly wooded with date trees and sycamores; and, near Kafr Zaïad, where the Pasha has a cotton manufactory, they exhibit a character of superior beauty. At this village we observed numerous boats moored along the shore, some laden with manufactured goods, others which had brought thither the raw material. On the approach of night, the frogs and grashoppers, or cicadæ, intermingled their croaking and shrill notes on the margin of the stream; where, shortly after dark, they were joined by the wild dogs and jackals. Reached Fouah about midnight.

DCXVII. Next morning, having unshipped my baggage, and transferred it to the cabin of a large boat on the Mahmoodyiah, I quitted the Nile, and proceeded with a fair wind towards Alexandria. The canal of Mahmood is divided from the river by an ill-contrived sluice, which, admitting no boats, goods descending the Nile must here be landed and reshipped; and thus the price of all articles is unnecessarily augmented at Alexandria. Besides myself, the vessel in which I now embarked contained at least fifty passengers, men, women, and children—all Arabs. Several of the women were very pretty; one in particular, who, however, was married, and had two young children. The whole company was infinitely merry—laughing, chatting, or singing all the way. On departing from *Atfih*, the banks of

the canal are high, and the country around well cultivated; but we soon enter the desert, where the inequalities have been levelled, and the hollows filled up; so that, in many places, the water runs over a broad causeway, elevated above the surrounding plain. Everywhere the mud on the margin of the canal is equally rich with that on the banks of the Nile itself,—an irrefragable proof that the soil of Egypt is the gift of the river,—and, in many parts, the soil is covered by long rank grass, or by corn sown in small patches, irrigated by sakias, which are worked, in many instances, by cows and camels yoked together. The face of the desert, beautifully undulating, includes many deep hollows, which, in the rainy season, must contain water; and scattered copses of tamarisk bushes, the hardiest of the vegetable race, enliven, at intervals, its hungry aspect. Twenty-four towers, erected as guard-houses, are situated at equal distances on the banks of the canal, and, being white and lofty, present from a distance a striking appearance. The sky was cloudy all day, as in England at the same season of the year. In approaching Alexandria, the Mahmoodyiah increases in width, assuming all the features of a natural stream, when ruffled by the wind; while long reedy grass, and slender willow-like bushes, bend and tremble over its banks. *Birket Ghatoos*, a small landing-place on the right bank, contains one house and a saint's tomb, surrounded by many *toot* trees, with some little cultivation; and in the vicinity are numerous mounds, marking, perhaps, the site of some ancient town;

and at a short distance beyond were several houses, sakias, and trees, with boats moored under the village, near which aquatic birds were seen in large flights on the canal. We next arrived at *Esbeh*, adorned and enriched by several palm trees, some of which were already in flower. Between this village and *Kareon*, a Greek possesses a splendid house and gardens, near which we observed a small drove of pigs, the unclean beast, the abomination of the Musulmans. At Kareon there is a telegraph, which was working when we passed. About eight o'clock in the evening, we arrived at the termination of our voyage, — which had occupied little more than two days and a half; — but the gates of Alexandria, like those of all other Turkish towns, being shut up shortly after sunset, I was compelled to sleep on board.

DCXVIII. The canal of Mahmood was commenced in 1819, by the advice, it is said, of Mr. Briggs; and Mohammed Ali, with his accustomed activity, immediately proceeded to Alexandria, to superintend in person the execution of his design. Perhaps the suggestions of our countryman received additional weight from the loss of several jerms, laden with provisions and other merchandise, on the bar of Rosetta; where the navigation of the river will probably, in a short time, be wholly obstructed. Having appointed Ismaël Pasha director of the works, with two Beys, and four Kiasheffs, under his orders, the Viceroy returned to

Cairo. The sheïkhs of the provinces of Gharbieh, Sharkieh, Mensourah, Kelyoubieh, Ghizeh, Menouf, and Bahyreh, were commanded to furnish each a given number of fellahs, amounting in all to three hundred and thirteen thousand, including women and children. This promiscuous multitude, collected in haste, were marched towards the ground, where they encamped, under the command of the sheïkhs, along the intended line of canal. The government, however, intent on carrying its designs into execution, but, indifferent respecting the injury and misery inflicted thereby upon the people, had neglected to provide implements or store of provisions for the workmen: nevertheless, they were compelled to labour incessantly, from the break of day until night; soldiers being stationed along the line of works, who allowed of no pause or relaxation. The men, destitute of the necessary tools, scratched up with their hands the soft mud, which was removed by women and children in baskets, and placed in heaps on the right and left. Having, in many places, to excavate considerably below the level of the sea, and no pumps being provided to keep the ground dry, they were compelled to work knee-deep in water; and thus, from the severity of the labour, to which they were unaccustomed, united with ill-treatment, and want of food and pure water, twenty-three thousand persons perished in ten months, and were buried in the embankments, like dead dogs.*

* In excavating the canal of Necos from the Red Sea to the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, 120,000 Egyptians are said to have perished.

DCXIX. This canal, which is about forty miles in length, runs in a serpentine course; its mean depth being much above the level of the Nile, and its breadth, inconsiderable at *Atfih*, averaging, perhaps, two hundred feet. The slope of the banks has been considered insufficient; in consequence of which, the earth, it is said, falls in, and fills up the channel: but though, at intervals, the shores are so steep that boats of large burden sail close to the land, in general the reverse is true; since kandjias, drawing little water, find it necessary to keep towards the middle, to avoid running aground. During high Nile a sufficiency of water is admitted, and prevented from escaping by sluices at either end. No bridges traverse it during its whole course. The Mahmoodyiah, though originally constructed for the purpose of navigation, likewise supplies Alexandria with water, and serves for irrigating the lands on both sides; its surface being, for several months in the year, above the level of the country: but it possesses many radical defects. Not having been, at the outset, excavated to a sufficient depth, direct communication with the Nile is necessarily cut off in the spring, when the river is low; and, at the same season, the water, towards Alexandria, is brackish, from the infiltration of that of Lake Mareotis, separated from the canal merely by an embankment and wall, supported by palisades. Another inconvenience arises

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Herodot. ii. 158. The same barbarous disregard of human life has always characterised the despotic governments of the East.

from the nature of the water, which, depositing incessantly a thick sediment, must, in a few years, entirely fill up the channel. To remedy this evil, it has been proposed to introduce the sea; a design open to great objections; for, to supply Alexandria with water, the construction of another canal would immediately become necessary, and all the lands reclaimed from the desert by irrigation would be lost.

DCXX. To guard, however, against the obstruction of the channel, which, near its embouchure, was speedily choked up with mud, Shaker Effendi, a Turk of Constantinople, undertook to construct sluices at *Atfih;* but being unable to erect them of the proper dimensions, he built three piers so close to each other, that the smallest boat on the Nile cannot pass through. Of this Turk, who may serve as an example of the persons surrounding the Pasha, the following anecdote is related: — Having been appointed director of the gun-foundery in the citadel, he was employed in casting a number of brass field-pieces; which were accordingly finished at great expense. Mohammed Ali, proud of the performance of his countryman and favourite, named a day for trying them; when, to his extreme mortification, it was found that the balls were all too large. In a paroxysm of rage, he ordered the unhappy director's head to be struck off; but, at the intercession of Mahmood Bey, late minister of war, his life was spared. He was, however, dismissed from the citadel, and appointed governor of *Atfih;* where, in vengeance

for the insult offered him, he effected the ruin of the canal. To preserve and give consistency to the embankments, the following plan has been suggested by an able engineer: having prepared a sufficient number of stakes, twelve feet in length, and four inches in diameter, let them be driven vertically six feet into the bed of the canal, and four feet apart. Between the stakes and the land place a layer of long canes and reeds, and then fill up the whole space with earth, to within about six inches of the top of the piles. Level the ground horizontally to the distance of thirty feet from the margin of the bank; parallel with which plant a line of sycamores, forty feet asunder. The interspaces might be advantageously occupied by willows, tamarisks, acacias, and poplars, whose ramified roots would fill up and bind the bank compactly, besides furnishing wood for fuel and repairing the banks, until the sycamores should acquire their full growth, which they reach in thirty years. Above the towing-path, and the line of trees, give the embankment a slope of two feet in one; level the superior crest, and let the opposite side descend rapidly to the plain, where rows of trees might likewise be planted. To give the banks still greater consistency, a bed of couch grass, or some other running plant, might be sown along the edge of the water.

DCXXI. From Atfih to Alexandria the slope of the ground is inconsiderable. Indeed, the remark may be applied to the whole valley of Egypt, from Es-Souan to the sea, which has nearly the same in-

clination as the waters of the river; that is, about two inches in a mile. The Nile pursues a serpentine course, and, from the great deposit which takes place in the immediate vicinity of its channel, during the inundation, now flows, as I have already observed, over the summit of a ridge incessantly increasing in height. It rises at Es-Souan thirty feet above its ordinary level; but from that point to the sea diminishes insensibly in elevation. At that period of the year, the river, swollen by the tropical rains, bears along in imperfect solution prodigious quantities of earth, derived partly from Abyssinia and the other kingdoms of the interior, partly from the spoil of its own banks, which it undermines and hurries downward, to be deposited at the northern extremity of the Delta. At low Nile, the waters, whose fall is then not nearly so rapid, are comparatively placid and clear. The Fellahs living at a distance from the river, now make use of the water remaining in large reservoirs, canals, and natural and artificial hollows, in the low grounds towards the desert. At Abou Zabel, for example, the peasants irrigate their fields during the greater part of the year with water drawn from large pits. But the canals, rapidly filling up by the annual deposits, retain considerably less water than formerly; and the natural birkets, or lagoons, surrounded by slightly elevated ground, increasing in extent in proportion as they become shallower, spread over the fertile fields, and diminish the cultivated land. Much of the water which should be retained in these reservoirs, is thus lost by evapor-

ation, and, in the canals, by infiltration, and the irregularities of the banks; and hence the villagers can seldom command a head of water for any length of time.

DCXXII. From the meandering course of the river, its velocity is irregular, and the banks, where it is greatest, are washed away, and carried, as we have observed, in suspension to the sea, where they constantly add a new accession to the alluvial formation of the coast. Thus Rosetta, formerly a sea-port, is now several miles inland. The districts of recent formation, however, are low and swampy, adapted to the cultivation of rice; and are confined, along the whole extent of Egypt, by sandy downs, created by the violence of the winds and waves. According to Mr. Wallace, the Pasha's chief engineer, the bed of the Nile, measured on a line from Es-Souan to the sea, has an inclination of two inches in the mile. In December, 1831, he found the surface of the river to be twenty-four feet above its bed. Thence to the sea it forms an inclined plane, the slope* of which,

* On the slope of rivers which periodically overflow their banks, and form deltas towards their embouchures, Major Rennell has the following remarks: — "All deltas," he observes, "as would appear by the sections of the river banks, as well as of the ground itself, to a great depth, are formed of matter totally different from that of which the adjacent country consists; proving that they are the creation of the rivers themselves; which rivers, having brought down with their floods vast quantities of mud and sand from the upper lands, deposit them in the lowest place, the sea; at whose margin the current which has hitherto impelled them ceasing, they are deposited by the mere action of gravity. It is no less certain, that during the progress of forming,

however, is two-fold; great immediately north of Es-Souân, where the fall of the water is seven inches and a half in the mile, and diminishing almost to nothing as we approach the Delta. In doubling

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by its depositions, the *low* land which is to constitute the *future* delta, the river, by its overflowings above, also raises such parts of the adjacent countries as are subject to be overflowed by its waters. And hence it must be conceived, that such rivers must gradually raise their beds: since, in order to run at all, they must have a *continued declivity* the whole way to the sea; so that the very act of *extending their* course, by forming *new* land *in* the sea, requires a gradual elevation of the ground the whole way from the margin of the sea upwards. Thus, alluvial countries must continue to rise, by slow degrees, whilst the alluvions encroach on the sea; and the rivers themselves continue to overflow and deposit. The declivity, or slopes, of the new *formed* land, as well as of the *old*, will be regulated by the influence of the level of the sea on *that* of the *floods* of the river; for, although the river may swell thirty or more feet with the periodical rainy season, in the parts removed from the sea, yet, at the point of its junction with the sea, it cannot rise at all; since water cannot be retained in a heap, but must form a common level with the mass with which it mixes. The land-flood will therefore form a slope of such a nature, as its gravity, combined with the declivity of the stream, will admit; and, it appears from experiment, in another river (the Ganges), that the slope commences above the head of the delta. But in the Nile, we are told that it begins much higher; which is very probable, as its delta is so much smaller than that of the Ganges. Below the point in question, at any given place, the elevation of the periodical flood, as well as the level of the country, bears a pretty just proportion to its distance from the sea. This matter is abundantly proved by experiment, and may be verified with ease. But as the delta of the Nile, in common with other tracts of the same nature, was *founded in the sea;* and, in consequence, the course of the river itself must have been prolonged through a tract, which cannot, in the nature of things, be formed (notwithstanding the regular and constant deposition of the floods) into *so great* a slope as that part of its bed which lies through the original land; it must of necessity happen, that there will be *two different degrees* of slope in the beds of such rivers; the steepest over the original land, and the least steep over what was originally the bed of the sea." — *Geography of Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 102—104.

promontories, the waters often rise two inches above the general level. Tending, like all other rivers, to reach the sea by the shortest course, the Nile is perpetually changing its direction; hence all maps triangulated on stations taken in the river must be erroneous.

CHAPTER XV.

DESCRIPTION OF ALEXANDRIA — AMATEUR THEATRES — AMUSEMENTS OF THE FRANKS — SALUBRITY OF THE ANCIENT CITY — LAKE MAREOTIS — FEMALE BEAUTY — SHORTNESS OF LIFE — PREMATURE OLD AGE — CLIMATE UNFAVOURABLE TO CHILDREN — APPEARANCE OF THE ENVIRONS IN AUTUMN AND IN SPRING — SHORT-LIVED VERDURE — WILD FLOWERS — SOIL UNFAVOURABLE TO THE GROWTH OF FOREST TREES — GARDENS OF BOGHOS BEY — MAGNIFICENT CARNATIONS — EXTRAORDINARY TRIPARTITE FRUIT — CASTLE OF THE PHAROS — DIFFICULTY OF VISITING IT — INTERIOR HITHERTO UNDESCRIBED — OBTAIN THE PASHA'S PERMISSION TO ENTER — THE INTERIOR — ENTER THE MOSQUE IN BOOTS — ACCOUNT OF, BY BENJAMIN OF TUDELA — BATTERY ON THE CAPE OF FIGS — FORT CAFFARELLI — PASHA'S SALT-WATER BATHS.

DCXXIII. In their descriptions of Alexandria travellers would frequently appear to have been more intent on indulging their genius for satire or exaggeration, than of conveying a correct idea of the place. No two accounts resemble each other; but, as the city itself has undergone innumerable revolutions and changes of fortune, much of these discrepancies may, perhaps, have arisen from this circumstance. At present it is a respectable, if not a handsome city. The number of spacious okellas inhabited by European merchants, the new detached houses erected in various quarters by Turks and Franks, the elegant well-furnished shops, the mosques,

convents, villas, and palaces, situated within the walls, render its aspect gay and agreeable. As a place of residence, it is undoubtedly preferable to any other city in Egypt; indeed it would, in many respects, bear a comparison with some of the sea-port towns of Italy or France. Two small theatres, with temporary decorations and scenery, and supported by amateurs, have been established by the French and Italian residents; and the performances, though no professed actors are employed, are far from being contemptible. Other amusements, adapted to the taste of civilised nations, are likewise obtainable; music parties, conversazione, soirées, balls, routs, dinners, wine, dancing-girls, &c. A book-club, consisting of the most respectable residents, has recently been commenced; a newspaper, in French and Arabic, is published by the Pasha; but a bookseller's shop, and an Egyptian review and magazine, are still wanting. Both here and elsewhere in Egypt, the dwellings of the fellahs, unworthy the name of houses, are inferior in comfort and appearance to dog-kennels or pig-sties; but these constitute no part of the city, being merely a straggling suburb attached to certain quarters. A wise government, however, would provide the poor with more airy and commodious habitations, with the view of arresting the progress of depopulation, and interesting the body of the people in its support.

DCXXIV. Though nearly surrounded by water, Alexandria, in the time of Strabo, was esteemed a

healthy city; and for this phenomenon the geographer accounts in a satisfactory and philosophical manner, by explaining the peculiar nature of Lake Mareotis. Other lagoons, he observes, from the effect of evaporation, become half dry in the season of the greatest heat; and their shores, converted into so many swamps or morasses, exhale mephitic effluvia, which corrupt the air and engender disease. The Mareotis, on the contrary, being filled by the influx of the Nile, whose inundation occurs in summer, instead of retiring within its bed, and exposing a marshy slimy margin to the action of the sun, rises above its ordinary level, and abundantly irrigates the neighbouring fields, thus effectually preventing all pestiferous exhalations. In the time of the Mamalooks, when this lake had been in a great measure dried up, the miasmata arising from it, though the land was partly brought into cultivation, seem greatly to have accelerated the ravages of the plague; which, since the sea was introduced into it by the English, has been much less frequent and destructive. At present, Alexandria appears to be a salubrious city, though the atmosphere in winter is, perhaps, too moist and cold. My own health, during the short stay I made there, was upon the whole good; and the observations I made on the health of others likewise corroborated my opinion,—the majority of the European inhabitants being no less hale and robust than they could have been in their respective countries. Even the complexions of such women as take exercise, without too much exposing themselves to the sun, are ruddy

and clear; and their forms, entirely abandoned to nature, possessed of all that plumpness and richness of contour, which distinguish the females of the north.

DCXXV. It should, however, be observed that the constitution, though not subjected, by the nature of the climate, to more than the ordinary chances of disease, appears to wear out more rapidly than in Europe. Youth and manhood are of comparatively short duration; and old age, both of the mind and body, makes its approaches earlier. Nowhere have I beheld so few old men.* And the remark applies equally to natives and foreigners; to women, no less than to men. The signs of premature decay, and of an old age unconnected with length of days, every where meet the eye. Women, who, in the temperate regions of Europe, would still be regarded as in the bloom of life, as objects of the deepest interest and love, here seem to be verging towards decrepitude, with their hanging bosoms, hollow eyes, wrinkles, and emaciated limbs.

"Quò fugit Venus? heu! quòve color? decens
Quò motus? Quid habes illius, illius,
Quæ spirabat amores?"

The men, also, supposed to be less the creatures of climate, experience early a damping of the fire of

* Mengin, however, who probably designs to spend the remainder of his life in Egypt, imagines the climate exceedingly favourable to old age. I trust it may prove so in his particular case, though the exception will have no tendency to invalidate the rule.

the imagination, from the decrease, probably, of that animal heat, that physical energy, which supplies fuel to the passions; in short, the sun of life is obscured before it has declined from the meridian. Intemperance and excess, in which both Turk and Christian are here too apt to indulge, may, perhaps, contribute towards producing this premature decline of the senses and intellect; but the result is principally chargeable on the climate, since, even to the temperate and virtuous, length of days, and

"A green old age unconscious of decay,"

are rarely vouchsafed.

DCXXVI. Among the Bedouins instances occur of men who attain the age of one hundred, or one hundred and ten years; but no example of such longevity in Turk or Fellah, inhabiting the Valley of the Nile, has ever, I believe, been known. The ancient Egyptians, who probably discovered, at a very early period, this peculiar defect of their climate, laboured, by rigid attention to diet and medicine, to counteract its effects, though without any remarkable degree of success, since it was observed by the ancients that, of all mankind, the Egyptians were the shortest-lived.* To children, likewise, the air of

* "Among the Greek and Roman authors, we shall find the Britons observed to live the longest, and the Egyptians the shortest, of any nations that were known in those ages." — *Sir William Temple*, vol. iii. p. 438, 439.

Egypt is highly unfavourable. Instead of that freshness and beauty, that benignant placidity, betokening the unruffled calm of the soul, which, in more temperate regions, are the companions of childhood, infants generally exhibit countenances deformed by pain and sickness. With their eyes running and half closed with purulent matter, swollen bellies, tottering limbs, scurfy heads, and sallow squalid features, they repress that involuntary affection to which the innocence and loveliness natural to their age would otherwise give birth. Among the Greeks and rich Turks fine children are frequently found; but the offspring of Europeans who settle in the country are generally cadaverous and unsightly. Their lives, also, are extremely uncertain; and, accordingly, large families are rare.

DCXXVII. On my arrival, last autumn, at Alexandria, the whole surface of the soil in the environs exhibited a naked, sterile appearance; but I now on my return found the scene entirely changed, the unusually copious rains of the preceding winter having clothed the surrounding plains and eminences with verdure. Among the plants that flourish, during a short period, on these sands, is the *ghassoul*, of which fifteen thousand quintals are annually collected by the government, the ashes * being used in the manufacture of soap. Viewed from any commanding height, the country exhibits at this season a luxuriant and smiling

* These ashes are sold at thirty piastres per quintal.

aspect, every green hollow and swelling undulation being sprinkled with wild flowers, impregnating the air with their short-lived fragrance. Here the ice-plant is found in great abundance on the sand-hills. Beyond the walls, towards the Mahmoodyiah, the lands have been recently brought into cultivation; and attempts are making, on a large scale, to introduce numerous species of European fruit-trees and flowering shrubs. Among these are about forty or fifty varieties of the vine, which appears to flourish in every part of Egypt. Hitherto all attempts at naturalising forest trees have been found unsuccessful, for after the sixth or seventh year their roots descending enter the sand impregnated with salt, upon which their topmost branches, it is said, immediately begin to decay, until about the twelfth year, when they perish entirely. Yet the Egyptian sycamore, in size equal to the oak, finds nutriment in a soil supposed to be destructive to other large trees.

DCXXVIII. Boghos Bey possesses an elegant villa within the walls, surrounded by a large garden, containing a great variety of rare flowers, among which the most remarkable are the carnations, four feet high, the largest and finest, perhaps, in the world. Here I was shown an extraordinary fruit-tree, produced by an extremely ingenious process. They take three seeds,—the citron, the orange, and the lemon,—and carefully removing the external coating from both sides of one of them, and from one side of the two others, place the former between the latter, and,

binding the three together with fine grass, plant them in the earth. From this mixed seed springs a tree, the fruit of which exhibits three distinct species included within one rind, the division being perfectly visible externally, and the flavour of each compartment as different as if it had grown on a separate tree. This curious method of producing a tripartite fruit has been introduced by Boghos Ioussouff from Smyrna, his native city, where it is said to have been practised from time immemorial.

DCXXIX. Having, previous to my journey up the country, obtained permission from the Pasha to enter the castle of the Pharos, and the other forts of Alexandria, I now applied for the necessary order. As this was a favour he had almost invariably refused to travellers, it was anticipated that, notwithstanding the promise hastily made several months previous, my application would be vain; but early on the following morning a chaoosh, accompanied by a soldier, arrived from the palace, with instructions to conduct me whithersoever I pleased. My principal object was to discover whether any remains of the Pharos still existed, and I moreover felt some curiosity to observe the manner in which the Turks fortify positions they regard as important. Several gentlemen, likewise desirous of beholding those rarely visited spots, bore me company; and a janissary from the consulate served as my interpreter. We first proceeded towards the castle of the Pharos; but on arriving at the entrance of that long narrow causeway, carried

over an artificial foundation from the main land to the islet, where the celebrated lighthouse was erected, the soldiers on duty at first refused admittance even to the Pasha's officer; considering it incredible that Franks should have received his Highness's sanction to enter this military sanctuary.* But the chaoosh, irritated at their fanatical intolerance and want of respect for his authority, menacing them with the punishment awarded to disobedience of orders, they reluctantly made way. The road now lay between two high walls, which cut off the view on either side; but the dashing of the waves against the rocks informed us we were surrounded by the sea. On reaching the gates of the castle, fresh difficulties occurred. The governor, a Turk of rank and distinction, informed us that, in addition to his general orders, he had received private instructions to admit no strangers under any pretext whatever; but the chaoosh, the bearer of his highness's peremptory commands, replied, "On my head be it," — or in words of similar impart, — at the same time placing his hand upon his turban; upon which the governor, making a low bow, allowed us to proceed.

DCXXX. Passing the drawbridge, we entered

* "The celebrated lighthouse," says Dr. Richardson, "that occupied the extremity of the great harbour, is now succeeded by an insignificant fortress; and on that spot whence a hospitable ray once issued to invite the industrious mariner to anchor in a peaceful harbour, *a sullen Musulman now smokes his pipe, and, looking from the embrasures, insults the Christian, and turns him from the gate with disdain.*" — *Travels, &c.* i. 22.

the court of the castle, under an immense portcullis, between long files of soldiers, drawn up on either side the gateway. Across this area, which is of spacious dimensions, and exceedingly clean, proceeding to the platform, we examined the guns, mortars, bombs, and piles of ball, which met the eye on all sides. The parapet, of unusual height and thickness, is cased, like the platform, with prodigious blocks of stone. A lower line of fortifications, erected by the Pasha, encircles the castle; and its guns, when the works are completed, will be nearly on a level with the surface of the water. These, I imagine, would do more execution than those above. From the entire absence of breakers, the sea, it may be inferred, is here of considerable depth, so that it is probable ships of war might approach almost close to the guns. No portion of the islet is at present uncovered; whatever remains of the Pharos* it may formerly have

* Benjamin of Tudela gives the following curious account of the Pharos:—"The haven extends a whole mile in length, and at this place a very high tower was built, called Hemegarah by the inhabitants, and Magar Iscander by the Arabs, which signifies, the Pharos of Alexander. It is reported that Alexander fixed a curious mirror on the top of this tower, by means of which all warlike ships sailing from Greece, or out of the west into Egypt, might be seen at the distance of five hundred leagues. But a Greek captain who had great knowledge of the sciences, came thither with his ship, and ingratiated himself in the favour of the king, by presents of gold and silver and rich silks. He likewise took great pains to acquire the friendship of the officer who had charge of the mirror and watch-tower, by frequently entertaining him in his ship, and at length was permitted to go into, and stay in the tower, as often and as long as he pleased. One day, he gave a magnificent entertainment to the keeper of the tower and his men, and dosed them so plentifully with wine, that they all fell fast asleep; on which he broke the mirror to pieces, and then sailed away in the night. Since

contained have therefore been buried beneath the foundations of the fortress.

DCXXXI. The castle is a large, square, lofty building, surmounted by a lighthouse in the shape of a minaret. Ascending to its summit by a narrow winding staircase, we enjoyed a magnificent prospect of the quarantine harbour, the palace on the Cape of Figs, and a large portion of Alexandria. Numerous ships, with their white sails bellying before the wind, were visible in the offing. Here and there, between the Pharos and the Pharillon, and along the shores towards Aboukir Bay, the existence of numerous sunken rocks is indicated by breakers, incessantly dashing over them in snow-white foam. A view of very different character was commanded from this spot in the time of the Ptolemies, when each harbour was crowded with elegant Greek gallies, and the shore, as far as the eye could reach, lined with obelisks, palaces, and temples. On descending from the roof, we entered a small mosque in the centre of the building, in which the soldiers of the garrison perform their devotions. An extraordinary revolution has been

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then, the Christians have infested the coasts of Egypt with their ships of war, and have taken the two large islands of Crete and Cyprus, which remain at this day under the power of the Greeks. The Pharos is still used as a beacon for the service of ships bound to Alexandria, and can be discerned by day or night, from the distance of one hundred miles, as a vast fire is kept burning there all night for the purpose." — *Travels of the Rabbi Benjamin. Kerr's Col.*, Part I. c. v. p. 111.

effected since the year 1817, when the Christian, according to a former traveller, was turned away with insult from the castle; for now a Christian, having examined, at his leisure, the military portion of the structure, entered into the mosque in his boots, under the guidance of a Turkish officer. These advantages we owe to the enlightened tolerance of Mohammed Ali, who is perseveringly, though quietly proceeding with the destruction of all those stupid prejudices which interrupt the free intercourse of Turk and Christian.

DCXXXII. Failing in our attempt at discovering any remains of antiquity on this island, we returned towards the promontory of Ras el Tin, and, passing between the Pasha's harem and divan, entered the fort; where files of infantry under arms were drawn up on either side, as at the castle. The habitations of the soldiers extend round a spacious area, containing several capacious cisterns, excavated in the rock, which, when it is judged necessary, are probably filled from the Mahmoodyiah by camels; but they were now entirely dry. The service-magazine is found, I imagine, at the northern extremity of the quadrangle, where a handsome colonnade, perhaps, conceals the entrance to it. Proceeding beyond the fort, over the rocks, which here project considerably into the waves, I endeavoured to discover some trace of the numerous edifices formerly found on this island, where some persons suppose the Pharos likewise to have been situated; for Cæsar describes a

village as existing on the same cluster of rocks with the lighthouse. A few brick substructions, and fragments of pottery, were all that rewarded my search. The fort itself is ill constructed, and, in many places, crumbling to decay, the walls having been shattered by the firing of the guns on seasons of public rejoicing. In its form there is nothing remarkable, the bastions advancing and receding in a series of obtuse angles. The guns are mounted on old decayed carriages, and not numerous, the whole number, both here and in the castle, not exceeding one hundred and sixty. Close under the walls of the harem is a battery, which the chaoosh feared to show us, lest, the windows of the sacred apartments being open, any of us should commit the unpardonable indiscretion of regarding the ladies. However, at our desire, he ventured further, perhaps, than was prudent; but finding nothing to repay the trouble of the search, the scrutiny was not carried far. A low rampart of sand-bags has been thrown up along the beach, flanked by numerous guns.

DCXXXIII. An officer in the Pasha's service has furnished me with the following note respecting Fort Caffarelli: — On our return, he observes, we visited the fort erected on a hill by the French, from the terreplein of which we enjoyed a view of the city, the harbour, and surrounding country. It contains a small cistern, and a few houses, in which lodge the last of the famous Turkish gunners, many of whom are now deaf. The guns, which appear to be

about forty-eight pounders, are six in number, and without platforms. There are also two ten-inch mortars, directed towards the town. The shot and shells lay about in confusion. The ramparts are sand, and half reveted with masonry; but the whole has been suffered to go to decay, and by means of the neighbouring buildings, hills, and hollows, it may be approached the whole way up under cover. Ahmed Chelebi, who has the superintendence of the repairs, is engaged in renewing the drawbridge; but the ditch is nearly filled up. Wooden platforms are making. It possesses a species of covered way, but this likewise has been nearly overwhelmed by débris from the ramparts above. The neighbourhood, however, abounds with materials for all the requisite repairs, so that it might be easily converted into a respectable post.

DCXXXIV. Our next visit was to the Pasha's salt-water baths, situated in the sea, below the palace, on the western side of Ras el Tin. They consist of a large low edifice, resting on several rows of pillars, and constructed entirely of wood. A narrow wooden causeway, extending from the shore to the esplanade, leads to the entrance, which, being surrounded with clear water, and rendered exquisitely cool by the sea breezes, forms a most agreeable retreat during the heats of summer. Entering the building, and traversing a spacious saloon, the walls and roof of which are tastefully decorated, we arrived at the principal bath, where a low flight of steps descends to the water,

which is of moderate depth, and so beautifully clear, that every pebble in the bottom is visible.. A narrow corridor, with neat railings, extends round the apartment; pillars, disposed at regular intervals, support the roof; and at each of the four corners is a diminutive aviary for a number of singing birds. Arranged along the pillars is a series of vine leaves in bronze, curled and hollow, in which the birds may build their nests. From the centre of the glazed cupola depends a magnificent chandelier, which, in the evening, when the ladies of the harem generally bathe, casts a dazzling splendour over the waters; and, on these occasions, when a number of beautiful forms are seated unadorned in those cool refreshing recesses, sporting in the waves, talking, laughing, singing, or listening to some wild tale related by their handmaidens, the fictions of the Arabian Nights appear to be realised. The female bath occupies the centre of the edifice, and is surrounded by a long suite of dressing rooms, elegantly furnished, where, after bathing, the ladies sip coffee or sherbet, seated on English chairs, or reposing on soft divans, while they are shampooed, fanned, or perfumed with essences by their women. In all these apartments, the divans, though tasteful and elegant, are less sumptuous than in the palaces of Cairo, being covered with gay chintzes of Egyptian manufacture. The windows, in general, are fitted up with ground glass. On the northern side of the building is the children's bath, resembling the larger one in form,

but more plainly fitted up, and containing shallower water. At the western front, facing the harbour, is a large open verandah, with seats, where the Pasha smokes, and amuses himself, in the summer evenings, by observing the ships entering or leaving the port. A narrow gallery, furnished with strong railings, surrounds the exterior of the baths.

CHAPTER XVI.

FAMILY LIKENESS OF THE FELLAHS — UNIFORMITY OF THEIR PURSUITS AND CHARACTER — CORRUPTION OF MANNERS — HAREMS OF THE FRANKS — PEASANTS ATTACHED TO THE GLEBE — INHABITANTS OF THE CITIES — INNOVATIONS IN TURKISH MANNERS — ANECDOTE OF IBRAHIM PASHA — TURKISH MARKSMEN — VULTURE SHOOTING — COPTIC POPULATION — NUMBERS AND MANNERS OF THE COPTS — TEMPORARY MARRIAGES — ANECDOTE OF A POLE — NUMBER OF JEWS IN EGYPT — HERETICAL JEWS — HAREMS OF THE EAST — FEMALE MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS — HAREM OF IBRAHIM PASHA — DISTINCTION OF RANK AMONG THE LADIES — AMUSEMENTS AND OCCUPATIONS — BILLIARD TABLES — THE SCIENCES — ARCHERY — MEASURE OF THE WAIST — EDUCATION OF THE CHILDREN — COSTUME OF THE TURKISH AND GREEK LADIES — DOMESTIC HABITS OF IBRAHIM PASHA — ORIGINAL LETTERS OF IBRAHIM AND PRINCE ABBAS MIRZA TO MR BARKER — USE OF WINE IN THE MOHAMMEDAN PARADISE.

DCXXXV. TRAVELLERS appear not to have remarked the extraordinary family likeness discernible in the Fellahs, who seem to have been all cast in the same mould. And this striking resemblance, which exists in character and manners, no less than in features, probably prevailed, also, among the ancient Egyptians; hence that monotony observable in their sculptures and paintings. Despotism is the primary cause of this phenomenon; for the multitude, all reduced to nearly the same level, urged by the

same wants, engaged in the same pursuits, actuated by the same passions, through a long succession of ages, necessarily assimilate. Poverty depriving them of all pretension to free agency, they are universally cringing, trembling, dissimulating. Fear is their habitual passion.—Credulous, ignorant, superstitious, no man has the originality to be a heretic. In religion, morals, manners, and opinions, the son treads servilely in the footsteps of his father, without inquiry, without reflection; nay, even without the consciousness that nature has endued him with the power to do otherwise. The fellah marries and begets children, who are allowed to run naked about the villages until the age of puberty; he then throws them a rag to bind about their loins; they begin to labour; become masters of a few piastres; and, marrying in their turn, run the same career as their parents. In what does the life of such a being differ from that of a mere animal? Incapable of forming any conception of the higher affections, their love is purely physical; woman, in their eyes, being simply a necessary of life, like rice or dhourra. If they marry, therefore, it is simply because a separate store of the former is as necessary as the latter in housekeeping. Some kind of attachment exists, no doubt, between them; but exceedingly feeble, unstable, and short-lived. Both men and women are highly profligate. Few Arabs ever perform a journey to any large city without visiting the dancing-girls, whose numbers are so considerable, that the tax they pay forms an important item in the Pasha's revenue. On the other hand,

their wives, if abandoned for a short time to their own guidance, easily slide into prostitution; and it is the opinion of many persons in the country, that when Ibrahim Pasha's soldiers shall return from Syria they will all find their moities among the almé. Though assertions so sweeping are necessarily exaggerated, it is nevertheless certain that the Egyptian women are naturally lascivious. All their looks and movements indicate this. Even their walk is lewd and immodest, and they turn upon the stranger so sensual an eye that it would be difficult not to discover the character of their thoughts. Those Europeans who reside in Egypt, and maintain establishments of these women, quickly discover that they are not to be trusted, and either adopt the oriental practice of being served by eunuchs, or keep none but female slaves in their houses. Others, less judicious, have men-servants, but, to guard against danger, never go abroad without them, or trust the keys of the house out of their own pockets. In some instances, when their harems are unnecessarily numerous, these conformist Franks, ridiculously aping the manners of the Turks, live in constant dread of European visitors, lest the accidental sight of a hat should excite an insurrection among their women. Sooner or later, too, their intellects undergo the same process as forest trees transplanted thither from the ruder climates of the north, dwindle into insignificance, and are infected with all the low vices and base principles of the Orientals. Beholding around them none who believe in the existence of religion or virtue, they likewise, in process of time,

grow sceptical, and learn to consider the stricter notions they imbibed in Europe as vulgar prejudices, unworthy of accomplished individuals like themselves.

DCXXXVI. The fellahs, who, as Mengin observes, have exhibited the same character under both Mamalooks and Turks, are almost throughout Egypt attached to the glebe. Their wretched cottages, which I have frequently described, exceed in filth and meanness the cabins of the Irish; and they themselves are generally covered with rags. A few earthen pots, a large jar for their grain, a mat to sleep on, constitute the whole of their furniture; their ordinary food is dhourra bread and onions; a few eggs, or a coarse piece of buffalo beef they regard as a feast. Mengin, whose experience was chiefly confined to Cairo, describes them as scrupulous observers of the precepts of their religion; but, though immersed in superstition, they are generally lax both in faith and practice. In many villages no mosque exists. At Cairo, as in all other capital cities, the inhabitants, engaged in a greater variety of occupations, compelled to exercise a superior degree of ingenuity, brought into frequent contact with strangers, display more sociability and politeness; and the artizans and shopkeepers are distinguished for their industry and attention to business. Their amusements are suitable to barbarians; when not engaged in the exercise of their professions, or in their religious duties, they are generally found in the coffee-houses, listening to the relations of the story-teller; or on the public places,

where mountebanks, jugglers, and dancing-girls perform.

DCXXXVII. Most of the respectable Turks, both at Cairo and Alexandria, approach as nearly as possible the manners of Europeans; that is, in what may be termed the husk, or material part of manners; sitting on chairs, eating with knives and forks, making use of porcelain, glass, &c. Among these innovators may be enumerated Mahmood Bey, late Minister of War, and Mahmood Effendi. Ibrahim Pasha himself has a French cook, with whose services, however, he dispensed during the Syrian campaign. One of their principal amusements consists in firing at a target. They are in general good marksmen, but take a long time in aiming. Mohammed Ali himself can strike an earthen pot a hundred paces out at sea; and Ibrahim, who fires as well as any ordinary man could do after much practice, has been known to lounge on a cushion, in some of the upper apartments of his divan, and amuse himself by firing with rifles at the water-skins carried by Sakas. If he pierced the skin, and let out all the water, he enjoyed the surprise and vexation of the poor Saka; but if he happened to wound the man, he would promise, with apparent contrition, that the sufferer should never want bread, while he himself had any to eat; though he has never been known to keep his word. These, however, are things which took place many years ago; for latterly, since the expedition to the Morea, his conduct has been totally changed. To give an idea

of his own dexterity, Mohammed Ali relates that, when out shooting, he has, while riding on his mule, started two quails: having in his hand a single-barrelled gun, he fired, and brought down one of them; and then, taking another gun from his attendant, shot the remaining bird. Koorshid Pasha, the present governor of Mekka, throws up a piastre, and, in one trial out of three, hits it with a single ball as it is falling.

DCXXXVIII. In our voyage up the Nile, an example of the Turkish style of shooting came partly under the notice of Monro. One day, he observes, as I was reading in my cabin, my attention was directed by the trackers to three large vultures on the shore, not forty yards distant. Immediately after, two of them retired leisurely into the desert, and the other to a ridge of sand upon the top of the bank. I was quickly landed, and firing at the latter, he appeared to be hit, though not so severely as to prevent his flying about a mile up the stream, where he again settled. I now passed the ridge in search of his two companions, which had joined a party of four others, and were all sitting together on a sand-hill at no great distance. Their wings were spread, their plumage ragged, and they looked bare and hungry as the desert around them. To approach unobserved was impossible. There was not even a mat rush for shelter. They began to exchange looks, seeming to communicate their suspicions that all was not right, and then taking flight one by one, the last had gone before I could fire with

any fair chance of success. I had scarcely regained the bank in quest of the one I had fired at, when I heard a shot a little higher up; and at the same time saw a vulture fall into the river, and come paddling downwards with open wings. But the eagle, as Diodorus calls the old Nile, could not befriend him. A bearded and swarthy Arab appeared upon the bank, and running down to the water's edge, stopped, as if perplexed respecting his next step. The delay was momentary. With one and the same effort he threw his clothes upon the mud, and himself into the stream, and reaching forward with alternate arms, quickly overtook the wounded bird. The latter was ready to receive him. It was no 'placidum caput' that he raised upon the waters. Stretching forth his neck, and opening his beak, he turned upon his pursuer, who, by darting up the stream, eluded his attack. After repeated attempts the Arab at length reached the end of the wing under water, and swimming gently forward on his side, pulled the bird, apparently exhausted, towards the shore; but the vulture no sooner gained his feet than he furiously assaulted his naked enemy, who, retreating, with a loud yell, first in a straight line, then in a circle round the bird, still held the extreme end of the feathers, and warded off his strokes with his own pinion. The vulture's beak was frequently within a few inches of the Arab's ribs, and had he succeeded, he would doubtless have made shorter work here than his ancestor did with Prometheus. Yet the cry of the Arab was not altogether that of fear. There was a mixture of bitter playful-

ness and triumph, as one sometimes says — 'You will — will you?' It was a Turk who had shot the bird, and he was now watching the affair from the bank. I hastened towards him, and neither understanding the other's language, we commenced, after the usual salām, a sort of telegraphic conversation, the bird and our guns being the chief topic. The Turk had taken mine to examine, and appeared much pleased with it, particularly with the locks, when the vulture renewed his attack upon the man. Requesting permission to end the business with my gun, he ordered his myrmidon to stand aside, and the bird immediately fell. His head was under him, and he bled profusely, and seemed, after being convulsed for a moment, to be quite dead. He was shot from less than four yards distance, and the gun contained six small Turkish bullets; notwithstanding this, after we had finished our communications, which lasted some minutes, I saw him struggling again. He stood higher than a full-sized turkey-cock, measured about ten feet from point to point of the wings, and his beak and talons were terrific. I pity Prometheus if such was his guardian. However, he was avenged, and by fire too. On getting into my boat, I received a message from the Turk, requesting that I would give him my gun; but this I declined; not however, abruptly, for that is not *ton* in the desert, but with the usual string of oriental compliments.

DCXXXIX. The Coptic inhabitants of Egypt are said to amount to one hundred and sixty thousand,

ten thousand of whom are found in Cairo. In the villages they are devoted, like the fellahs, to the labours of agriculture; though many of them exercise different trades. At Siout, for example, they are weavers; in the Fayoom, distillers of rose-water; mat-makers at Menouf; and in Cairo goldsmiths, tailors, masons, or cabinet-makers. Under the Mamalooks they were tax-gatherers and financiers; but this class are now reduced to mere clerks. Bigotedly tenacious of their ancient customs, their women, among whom a kind of circumcision * is still practised, pass their lives in extreme retirement, never appearing unveiled, even before their nearest relations. Their religion enjoins auricular confession, the administering of bread and wine in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and the bathing of the whole body before communion. Intermarriage with the members of a different church is prohibited. The condition of women, as among other barbarous nations, is degraded and servile; but the mother of many children is held in much higher esteem than she who is barren. Under all circumstances, however, the husband and wife, who neither eat nor sit together, live estranged from each other, being destitute of that impassioned vivacity which breaks down the restraints of custom, and transforms a legal union into an affair of the heart. Girls, who are frequently married before the age of puberty, — from ten to twelve years old, — wear a

* Mengin, who likewise mentions this circumstance, observes, moreover, that,—" Le plupart font aussi circoncire leurs enfans mâles à l'âge de cinq à six ans, par mesure de propreté." — t. ii. p. 294.

white veil; married women are distinguished by a black one, ominous of their melancholy state of servitude.

DCXL. Notwithstanding, however, the severity of their exterior, the Copts are no less lax in their morals than the Mohammedans. Adultery is common; and they likewise practise a kind of pro-tempore marriage, little different from prostitution. When a stranger arrives at Cairo, or any other large city, and is desirous of entering, like a Chinese, into a matrimonial arrangement for a certain number of weeks or months, he applies to a Coptic priest, who immediately provides him with a wife. A contract, binding for the time as any other marriage contract, is drawn up; the usual ceremonies are performed; and the parties regarded as legally united. But, as might be expected, these women are seldom faithful to their temporary husbands, and the connection usually terminates in mutual disgust and premature separation. The history of one affair of this kind was related to me at Cairo. A Pole, not choosing to burden himself with a harem of black women, and preferring a Christian helpmate, made regular application to a Coptic priest, who, like the servants of Athor on the ancient establishment, attended to his wishes without delay. The contract was drawn up and signed; the husband engaged to defray the expenses of the marriage; to maintain the lady in a certain style while she remained in his house; and, in the event of his death, or desire of annulling the

engagement before its expiration, to make over to his spouse two thousand piastres. On the other hand, the lady — a pretty young Copt — promised to be honest and faithful, — in short, to perform all the duties of a wife. For the first day their happiness was unclouded; but on the second or third, a strange man was observed entering the house in the husband's absence, and after remaining some time, again departing before his return. Being well known, his neighbours very kindly informed him of what had taken place; but, upon inquiry, the visitor was pronounced to be her father. Her relations, however, who appeared to be numerous, invariably made their visits in the husband's absence. He at length began to complain, the lady to be angry; and a quarrel ensuing, the enraged Pole desired her to quit his house, to which she made no objection, merely requiring that the two thousand piastres should first be paid. But, by good fortune, the marriage contract had remained in his hands. Tearing it to pieces in his fury, he placed his wife, with her whole wardrobe, on a number of asses, and desiring her to return to her confessor, rudely closed the door. After her departure he found, in a recess, a quantity of blood*, mingled with milk, which, among the Copts, is said to be a potent poison; so that he did not doubt her intention was to inherit his property in a short time. It is, however, more probable, that the horrid mixture was meant to be administered as a philtre; since the same superstitious

* τὰ καταμήνια γυναικεῖα, ἢ ἔμμηνος κάθαρσις.

practice prevailed in the middle ages, among the Christian ladies of the West.*

DCXLI. The number of Jews in Egypt is now much less considerable than formerly, not exceeding three thousand at Cairo, and five hundred at Alexandria.† Like the rest of the inhabitants, they are generally reduced to poverty; none, indeed, are rich, and few possess even a competency. The exceptions that occur are found at Alexandria. They are now, like the professors of all other religions, exempt from persecution of every kind, being hampered by no civil disability, having it in their power to purchase lands or houses no less than the Musulmans. Poverty, however, operating in their disfavour more effectually than the ancient laws, confines them, at Cairo, to the most wretched quarter of the city, where they live in streets resembling the interior of a slaughter-house,‡ where the plague commonly makes its appearance first, and exercises its most fearful ravages. The character of the Jew, which appears to unite a great degree of indolence with an insatiable appetite for gain, exhibits in Egypt the same

* *Burchard* (Bishop of Worms) *De Pœnitentia Decretorum*, l. xix.

† In the time of Benjamin of Tudela, there were three thousand Jews in Alexandria. — *Travels, &c.* part i. ch. v. *Kerr's Collection*, vol. i. p. 112.

‡ Mengin, who speaks still more disparagingly of this part of Cairo, relates the following characteristic anecdote:—"Une dame juive, venue d'Egypte à Paris, me disait avec l'accent de regret: 'Ah! Monsieur, où est le Kaire, où est le quartier juif!' Et je me disais alors: 'L'amour de la patrie est-il donc si puissant?'"—t. ii. p. 281.

peculiarities as elsewhere; averse to all useful productive labours, they seldom exercise any other profession than that of banker or money-changer; or, if driven from these points, they become jewellers, or petty dealers; never labourers or husbandmen. At Alexandria, however, the great monopolist butcher, against whom Sheïkh Ibrahim exerted his fanatical influence, was a Jew. Notwithstanding the smallness of their number, they possess two synagogues at Alexandria, and eight at Cairo, where there are several members of the Karaïte sect; heretics who are strict observers of the laws of Moses, but reject all the traditions of the Rabbins, refusing to intermarry with or be buried in the same cemeteries as other Jews. Numbers of Karaïtes are found in the Krimea, at Salonika, and Constantinople. The children of the more strict are taught by Rabbinical masters; but bigotry yielding to self-interest, others —perhaps the majority — are sent to the European schools.

DCXLII. It has been pretended that it is not the jealousy of the husband which, in Mohammedan countries, confines the wife to her apartments; but the influence of laws and customs, in force long before the time of Mohammed. From this peculiarity in their manners proceeds the style in which the Turks construct their houses, which are divided into two parts; one called *salamlik*, corresponding to the *andron* of the Greeks, inhabited by the master of the

family; the other, called *harem** (the retired or sacred apartments), in which the women reside. The passages conducting from the former to the latter are reserved entirely to the master of the family; no servant, not even the eunuchs, ever entering the harem, where every thing is performed by female slaves. Near relations are admitted twice a year, during the festival of Bairam, and on occasion of a marriage, a lying-in, or a circumcision; but their visits must be short, and in the presence of female slaves. These—the only men before whom the ladies can appear unveiled—are denominated *Mahhrem*, and all strangers, to whom the harem is interdicted, *Na-Mahhrem*. According to the strict etiquette required by ancient usages, a lady cannot appear unveiled before a physician, even in presence of her husband, or have her pulse felt except through a muslin sleeve; but, in cases of danger, the law relaxes its severity. Physic is generally practised by women, who are the only *accoucheurs*† in the empire. The employment of a man on such occasions would disgrace a family for ever; so that these barbarians, gross and ignorant as they are, display infinitely more delicacy on this point than civilised nations.

* This word, according to Chardin, is of Hebrew origin, and occurs frequently in the writings of Moses, where it signifies "illicit, prohibited, interdicted, abominable, execration, excommunication." "On l'a donné en Perse à cette partie du logis que les femmes occupent, pour dire que l'accès en est interdit à tous les hommes, excepté le maître, et que c'est un lieu sacré où il n'est permis d'entrer à aucun homme."—*Voyages en Perse*, t. x. chap. x. p. 200.

† See Mouradgia D'Ohsson, iv. 315—354. *Accoucheurs* for *accoucheuses*.

DCXLIII. The harem is divided into three parts: the interior, the ante-chamber, and the offices; the two latter of which are supposed to have no communication whatever with the former. Among the ladies of Ibrahim Pasha's harem, who are taught to read and write, and play on the piano-forte, the same offices and gradations of rank are observed as in the court of the Prince himself; the first wife, who bears the title of Pasha, having her female officers corresponding with those of her husband, such as the Kihaya Bey, the Khaznadar Aga, &c. As none of these ladies, however, can hold any intercourse with the world, all communications between the interior and exterior are conducted through the medium of eunuchs, who form a kind of domestic police, under the command of the Kizlar Agasi, or "Aga of the Girls." The kitchens, the magazines, and storehouses, are under the direction of the Ashgi Bashi; and whatever is wanted by the ladies is procured through the agency of her highness's Khaznadar, the Kizlar Agasi, and the Aga Baba, who is stationed at the outward wall of the harem. By these officers application is made to the Khaznadar of the Pasha, who keeps an exact account of every item of expenditure in the harem, and, when he considers their demands extravagant or irrational, consults with his highness himself on the propriety of complying with their desires.

DCXLIV. The ideas generally prevailing in Europe respecting the life led by the women of the

harem are highly inaccurate. They are not, as Kæmpfer observes, "fruges consumere natæ," since, in the depth of their retirement, in the separate and almost unknown world which they inhabit, various trades and arts, useful to themselves or agreeable to their husbands, constitute their habitual study and employment. When they have the happiness to be mothers, the nursing and education of their children, which they never delegate to other women, excepting in cases of extreme ill health, furnish abundant occupation. Such as are not engaged in maternal duties attend to household affairs, and spend a large portion of the day at the loom, or in spinning, knitting, sewing, embroidery, or music. Others, possessing sweet voices, are taught to sing, or to accompany the songs of others by all the voluptuous dances of the Almé. It seems to be believed in Egypt that, in paying some attention to the education of his women, and in introducing musical instruments and billiard tables into the harem, Ibrahim Pasha is an innovator, aiming at an approximation to the manners of Europeans; but, with the exception of the billiard tables, which might, without much detriment, be dispensed with, he has merely acted in conformity with the established practice of the East. The ladies of the Shah of Persia, in addition to the arts of housewifery above enumerated, are instructed in the sciences, particularly the mathematics; and some, endued with superior genius, have excelled in the art of poetry. Abassa, the sister of Haroun al Rashid, has left behind her a brilliant reputation; and even

in India and Japan, women, struggling successfully with the difficulties of their position, have arrived at eminence in philosophy and literature. A favourite amusement in the Shah's harem is archery; and such of the ladies as excel in this accomplishment enjoy the envied privilege of accompanying their husband in his hunting parties. The exercise, moreover, by preventing their growing too fat, may protect them from the periodical starvations imposed by the Shah's Arbiter Elegantiarum,—an old eunuch, possessing a girdle, the *ne plus ultra* in the size of a princess's waist, which he occasionally applies to the beauties under his charge, imposing on all transgressors a rice and water diet, until they regain their pristine slenderness.

DCXLV. In the female establishment of Ibrahim Pasha, the most important occupation of the ladies is the education of their children, who are allowed to remain under their care till the age of twelve or thirteen. Their principal pleasures consist in receiving visits, in the baths, from their female friends, and occasional excursions on the Nile in elegant kandjias, the cabins of which, tastefully fitted up, are covered with crimson cloth, to denote that the inmates are members of the royal family. The costume of the Turkish ladies is very different from that of the Levantines. While virgins, their hair is plaited in two large tresses on the temples, the remainder being allowed to fall in natural ringlets over the

shoulders; and their only ornaments are flowers,—roses, jasmins, or lilies. A short jacket, called an anteria, embroidered with flowers of gold, fits close to the shape, but, being left partly open above, discloses a portion of the bosom. Their large trowsers of semi-transparent silk, called *shalwahs*, are tied round the loins with an embroidered sash; above which a light Kashmér shawl, rolled up, is sometimes thrown, carelessly tied on one side, with the ends trailing on the ground. The arms, the feet, and the abdomen, below the anteria, are exposed; but in cold weather they envelop themselves in large pelisses of the most costly furs. They wear fine yellow slippers, and, whenever they step off the carpet, walk in high wooden pattens, like those used in the public baths. The married women, affecting more decorum in their costume, have a loose chemise over the anteria, with a pelisse and a shawl round the waist; and their hair, like that of the Levantine ladies, is plaited in small tresses all over the head, which is covered with an Indian or Yemen handkerchief. The costume of the Greek ladies, in the Gynæceum, was equally tantalising, though more flowing and elegant; consisting, in warm weather, merely of a white tunic without sleeves, fastened with buttons on the shoulders, and gathered into close folds under the bosom by a broad girdle. Being of a thin gauze-like texture, resembling the multitia of the Roman ladies, it left the wearer nearly in the state of nature; for which reason, among

others, strangers were never admitted into the harem.*

DCXLVI. The male children, after the age of twelve or thirteen, are removed from the female apartments, and placed under the care of tutors or governors. From this period they enjoy the privilege of entering their father's divan, where, being continually in the company of men who always assume an air of imperturbable gravity, they learn, at a very early age, the necessity of putting on a look of sagacity and importance. Their teachers and servants, however, being in general the basest of slaves, incapable of conceiving a dignified sentiment, corrupt their minds while forming their manners; and send them forth into the world with an imposing exterior, and souls debased by meanness, and stained and clouded by vice. Ibrahim Pasha himself, born in a private station, received not the education of a prince; and his manners, though far from rigid, are regular and respectable.† He is an early riser, and,

* Achilles Tatius, l. i. c. 1. — Pollux, l. iii. c. 16. — Lucian, Oper., t. iv. p. 402. — Athenæus, iv. 449. — Seneca, De Beneficiis, l. vii. declaims with becoming indignation against the fashion of appearing abroad in these pellucid dresses: — "Video sericas vestes, si modo vestes vocandæ sunt, in quibus nihil est quo aut defendi corpus, aut tegi pudor possit; quibus sumpta mulier parum liquidò nudam se non esse jurabit." — *Conf. Torrent. in Hor. Sat.*, l. ii. sat. 2. v. 101.

† Of his general manners some idea may, perhaps, be formed from the style of his private correspondence. The following is the translation of a letter to Mr. Barker, late British Consul-General of Egypt: to which I append, as a literary curiosity, the letter of another Oriental prince to the same polite and highly respected gentleman: —

knowing the advantage of a reputation for piety, repeats his morning prayers in public. On his first entering the Hall of the Divan, the Selam Aghasi

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From Ibrahim Pasha to J. Barker, Esquire.

" Glory of the Christian faith, illustrious support of the followers of Jesus, my dear friend Mr. Barker, whom God preserve! — After giving you reiterated assurances of my friendship, testified my ardent desire to see you again, and inquired into the state of your invaluable health, I hasten to inform you that I am arrived at Antioch, and finding it necessary to visit the port of Suedia, halted on my journey at your garden, situated in the vicinity of that harbour. My arrival occurred most opportunely, when all the fruits of Europe and Arabia are there in the highest perfection. After tasting of each sort, I resolved to pass the night in this delicious retreat, and shall return to Antioch to-morrow morning. Your steward, who resides in the garden, has presented me with an order from his highness my august father, recommending him to my protection; and from a desire to conform in all things to his sacred pleasure, as well as from my high consideration for you, I shall omit no opportunity of serving him.

" The beauty of this spot, its picturesque situation, the softness of the air, the profusion of its fruits, entitle it to be ranked next to the city of Damascus, which is unquestionably the terrestrial Paradise. I do not hesitate to assert that, throughout the whole of this country, I have found no place comparable to Suedia. Above all, the gratification I have enjoyed during this delicious night has been so complete, that I doubt whether even you, to whom the place owes all its embellishments, ever enjoyed any thing comparable to it. Our sincere friendship prompts me to write thus affectionately, that I may make you acquainted with the extreme satisfaction which I have experienced. I trust you will on no occasion omit writing, whenever you shall have any thing to communicate.

" God preserve you!

" 17 Rebi 1s. 1248.

(Seal of his Highness.) " IBRAHIM PASHA."

Translation of a Letter from the Prince Royal of Persia, Abbas Mirza, to Mr. Barker, H. B. M. Consul-General, Aleppo.

After compliments —

" The Persian pilgrims, who returned some time since from Mekka, have informed me of the friendly aid and support which you benevo-

addresses him with the usual salutation, "Salām aleykum!" which the Pasha graciously returns. Coffee is now brought in, after which he again goes through the exercise of public prayer, and spends several hours in transacting business, and giving audience to his principal officers. He then rides out to inspect the government works, and returning about twelve o'clock, dines in a very frugal manner, not wholly abstaining, however, from the use of wine, which, being permitted by the Faithful in Paradise*, he probably imagines may be very safely drunk, in moderation, here on earth. In Summer, a short siesta succeeds the dinner, after which he returns to the Divan, and is engaged in transacting business or receiving visits until sunset, when he retires to the hidden recesses of the harem. In this portion of the palace the lower story is appropriated to the use of the men, and here he sometimes receives his private friends.

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lently offered in their favour. I now return you my sincere thanks for your most acceptable exertions and good offices, and I assure you the impression which your kindness has made in my breast is both strong and lasting. I take the opportunity of the departure of a large party of pilgrims, to write this letter, and request your acceptance of a Kashmér shawl, which the high in dignity, Aga Ali Ascar, will deliver to you. I shall always be happy to hear of your welfare, and offer the assurances of my high consideration."

(L. S.) Of ABBAS MIRZA.

Written in the month of Rejjib, A. H. 1235.

A true translation,
HENRY WILCOCK.

* "Verily the righteous shall dwell among delights; seated on couches, they shall behold objects of pleasure; thou shalt see in their faces the brightness of joy. They shall be given to drink *of pure wine sealed*, the seal whereof shall be musk." — *Koran*, vol. ii. ch. 83.

CHAPTER XVII.

INSTITUTIONS OF THE PASHA — SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES — COLLEGE OF KASSERLYNE — TWO GREAT MOHAMMEDAN SECTS — LIBRARY — NUMBER AND STUDIES OF THE PUPILS — SYSTEM OF TEACHING — GRADATIONS OF RANK — MAMALOOKS OF IBRAHIM PASHA — ARTILLERY SCHOOL AT TOURA — SCHOOL OF CADETS AT GHIZEH — HAREM OF TOUSSOUN PASHA — SUPERIOR APPEARANCE AND ACQUIREMENTS OF THE STUDENTS — SCHOOL OF MUSIC IN THE CITADEL — APTITUDE OF THE ARABS FOR THIS SCIENCE — SCHOOL OF ENGINEERS AT KHANKA — MODELS OF FORTIFICATIONS — SCHOOL OF MEDICINE AT ABOU ZABEL — HOSPITAL — BOTANIC GARDEN — FRUIT AND VEGETABLES — MUSEUM, DISSECTING-ROOMS, LABORATORY — LITHOGRAPHIC PRESSES — EUROPEAN APPEARANCE OF THE SCHOOL — KNOWLEDGE OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE — FEMALE MEDICAL STUDENTS FOR THE HAREM — VETERINARY HOSPITAL AND SCHOOL — PASHA'S STUDENTS IN EUROPE — NAVAL AND REGIMENTAL SCHOOLS — LANCASTERIAN SCHOOL AT ALEXANDRIA — AGRICULTURAL SCHOOL.

DCXLVII. In the establishment of schools and colleges, Mohammed Ali has given an undeniable proof that he desires to behold Egypt a civilised country. He may, probably, not foresee that with civilisation the thirst for freedom will arise, and the despotism of his descendants — should he succeed in founding a dynasty — be necessarily diminished; or, foreseeing this, he may wisely think that limited power with safety is preferable to arbitrary but uncertain sway. From the rational character of his ambition, I am inclined towards the latter interpre-

tation; for, in spite of his tyranny, and the cruelties he has perpetrated in paving his way to the throne of Egypt, he appears to prefer a peaceful and lasting dominion to the meteoric splendour affected by the ordinary sovereigns of the East. His numerous seminaries for the education of youth, whatever may be their defects, entitle him to high praise, which would be still further heightened could we enter into a detail of the multiplied schemes of opposition, pursued with persevering obstinacy by the Turks, for the purpose of defeating or obstructing his views. Of these establishments I proceed to describe the object and constitution.

DCXLVIII. The College of Kasserlyne, situated on the right bank of the canal of Rhouda, forms the most prominent feature in the scenery of the metropolis. To the right of the edifice is the establishment belonging to the sect of the *Shiahs**, formerly the palace of Mourad Bey, surrounded by a grove of enormous sycamores. Directly opposite are the harem and divan of Sherīf Bey, — at present occupied by Abdallah, Pasha of Acre, and his family, — and the European gardens of Ibrahim Pasha, which,

* The Mohammedans are divided into two grand sects, — the *Shiahs* and the *Soonies*, — resembling, in some respects, the Protestants and Catholics of the Christian world. Among the Shiahs it is a point of doctrine to deny the authority of the first three Khalifs, — Aboubekr, Omar, and Osman, — and to consider Ali the true successor of Mohammed, and the Vicar of God. To this sect belong the Persians. The Soonies, comprehending the majority of the Turks and Arabs, acknowledge the first three Khalifs; but without denying the pretensions of Ali.

in three years, have cost above six hundred thousand piastres. Towards the left it commands a noble view of the Seraskier's divan, an immense pile of buildings, constructed in the Constantinopolitan style. The whole district intervening between it and the capital having been cleared of dust hills, is now covered with plantations of olive trees. The college itself is a large quadrangular structure, erected with stone up to the first floor, the remainder being stuccoed and painted in fresco. Each face of the edifice is about one hundred and twenty paces in length. Attached to it are a suite of splendid kitchens, hot and cold baths, a hospital, and a library of twelve thousand volumes.

DCXLIX. The students, to the number of twelve hundred, are provided by the Pasha with board, lodging, and clothing; in addition to which each youth is allowed a certain sum of money for his private expenses. Once entered, however, within the walls of the establishment, he is regarded as the personal property of the prince, and is liable to be sent to the fleet, the manufactories, or the army, at the pleasure of his master. Formerly, French and Italian professors were employed in teaching arithmetic, geometry, drawing, and other ordinary branches of education; and, in addition to their academic duties, these gentlemen rendered peculiar service to the government, by translating into the Arabic and Turkish languages useful elementary books, which were afterwards printed at Boolak.

In a short time, however, the Turks imagined they could dispense with the service of these Europeans, who, on quitting the college, left the education of the youths in the hands of their most able pupils; and these, accordingly, now profess to teach all the sciences. The library, selected without taste or judgment, is in the greatest confusion. Nearly all the works of which it consists are in the French and Italian languages; and those treating of medicine, the art of war, and the sciences in general, are scattered about in the medical school, at Khanka, in the citadel, and at Toura.

DCL. The exercise of prayer, ablutions, meals, and the periods of study and examination, are regulated by beat of drum. In many respects the system of teaching resembles the Lancasterian; but the same practice has prevailed from time immemorial in the schools attached to the mosques, where the boys mutually instruct each other to read the Koran. They are officered, like an army, in the regular gradation of rank and pay, from a Bimbashi, or head of a thousand, to an Orebashi, or corporal; and such youths as, from their superior intelligence, enjoy the rank of officers, have the power of keeping in order those under their command, by the terrors of the Koorbash. The expense of each boy's maintenance is calculated at about twenty-five piastres per month; he is allowed annually two suits of clothes and a sash; and writing-books, with all kinds of stationery, are provided with a total neglect of

economy. Little or no regard is paid to their health or morals. The itch, and other infectious disorders, are extremely prevalent among them; in the month of April, 1832, about three hundred lads, some not exceeding twelve years old, were sent off, *en masse*, to the hospital of Abou Zabel, afflicted with syphilis, ophthalmia, or the itch. The crime of the Celts and Medes is common among them: yet such is the seminary where the youth are brought up for the army and navy! Adjoining this college is a fine large building, where the young Mamalooks of Ibrahim Pasha reside, under the care of several Turkish teachers. Every art, every science, and every accomplishment are here professed to be taught. The unfortunate pupils — for the most part Greeks — are remarkable for their personal beauty. Though more liberally provided for than their neighbours, they are equally immoral, and regardless of cleanliness.

DCLI. The artillery school at Toura is superintended by colonel Seguera, formerly an officer in the Spanish service. He is assisted by several European gentlemen of ability, teachers of trigonometry, drawing, the French, Italian, and English languages, and the several duties of the service. The pupils, four hundred in number, are each distinguished by badges, which they always wear, indicative of their rank as gunners, or bombardiers. In this establishment, the principal evil complained of by the European instructors is, that the pupils are sent on actual service before time has been allowed them to acquire a

competent knowledge of any thing. This school is kept up by draughts from the great college of Kasserlyne.

DCLII. The most splendid establishment in Egypt, is the school of cadets at Ghizeh, situated to the north of the village, close to the Nile. It was formerly the harem of Toussoun Pasha; the building is spacious; the apartments, of noble dimensions, are adorned with a profusion of marble-work, gilding, and the finest specimens of the modern Greek fresco painting. The students, all Turks, Georgians, or Circassians, — the personal property of Mohammed Ali, — are placed under the care of the best European and native teachers. In addition to the study of the Turkish, Arabic, and Persian languages, that of French has also been introduced; and many of the young men have made sufficient progress to peruse works on the art of war in the original. It is here, indeed, that the greatest proficiency has been effected in every branch of education; these youths, dressed like European cavalry officers, with the exception of the tarboosh, which they still retain, having acquired a degree of general knowledge, and refinement in their carriage and behaviour, foreign to the rest of their countrymen. They particularly excel in horsemanship, and on parade manœuvre with precision. From this college the officers for the fresh levies are taken; and I believe they have given perfect satisfaction by their conduct in the field.

DCLIII. The school of music in the citadel is under the direction of a German professor, a very able and indefatigable man, whose labours have been much facilitated by the natural genius of the Arabs for this science. It is indeed surprising to observe with what precision they execute in full band the most difficult pieces of the most celebrated European composers. Among all his Highness's innovations the introduction of German and Italian music has been perhaps the most successful; which, however, is by no means matter of astonishment, since in this kind of imitation little intellect is required. A regular band is attached to every ship of war, and every regiment in the army; and the instruments appear to be of a superior description. The kettle-drums and fifes are fabricated in the country by Osman Effendi, a Turk of Constantinople; an attempt was likewise made to produce all other kinds of musical instruments, but, not succeeding, they are now imported from Europe.

DCLIV. In the school of engineers at Khanka there are about one hundred young men, selected for their success in their preparatory studies in the other establishments. They are taught surveying, fortification, the attack and defence of places, mining, &c., and, to assist them in their pursuits, are liberally provided with all the necessary instruments, and a large model of a fortified place on Cormontagne's system. The art and practice of field fortification are likewise comprehended in their studies. Here,

however, as in the other colleges, much more is professed to be taught than is in reality practicable; and the students are drafted off into active service before their education is half completed.

DCLV. The school of medicine at Abou Zabel is without doubt one of the most extraordinary of all the Pasha's establishments. But it is not situated in the desert, as has been sometimes pretended; on the contrary, it is encircled by vegetation, and in the month of March nothing can be more beautiful than the surrounding scenery. The hospital, to which a botanic garden has been attached, is an enormous quadrangular building, divided from the lodgings of the Europeans by a broad esplanade, planted with long avenues of mimosa, sycamore, and date trees. Along the exterior walls, on three sides of the edifice, a large space has been enclosed; and here all kinds of vegetables are successfully raised, besides an immense quantity of oranges, sweet and bitter almonds, lemons, figs, and pomegranates, for the use of the sick and convalescent. In the centre of the botanic garden is a large square building, containing a museum, dissecting-rooms, a theatre for lectures, a laboratory, a dispensary and dependencies, with store-rooms, kitchens, and baths, both in the European and Oriental style. A moiety of one side of the hospital is converted into a spacious school-room, capable of containing two hundred boys, the walls of which are adorned with designs illustrative of science, and the different phenomena of nature.

The remainder is occupied by a lithographic printing-office, where, by means of four presses, the young Arabs are constantly employed in printing Arabic translations of the best European works on medicine, with anatomical drawings, which they certainly copy with great accuracy.

DCLVI. None of the other schools possesses an air so entirely European. It is kept very clean, and the traveller is sometimes startled at being addressed in French by ill-conditioned fellahs, who are instructed in history, geography, arithmetic, botany, chemistry, together with the theory and practice of medicine and surgery. At the head of each department of the medical science is an European professor, who draws up his daily lesson in French, which is then translated into Arabic by able interpreters, who, from their long employment in the hospital, are themselves tolerably well acquainted with the science. The translations, when completed, are submitted to three learned Sheïkhs, who correct grammatical errors, and clothe them with the beauties of the Arabic language; after which they are printed, and delivered to the students. Practical knowledge is acquired by attending the sick, compounding and making up medicines, and the constant use of the dissecting knife. The fault, however, complained of in all the other schools, is likewise committed here; for the government, impatient to avail itself of the knowledge it has imparted, withdraws the youths from their studies, before sufficient time has been allowed to perfect

themselves in their profession. They are in fact removed four years after their entrance, however trifling may be their proficiency, and being sent directly to the army, frequently do more mischief than good. Among the students are three eunuchs and four female slaves, who are educated for the interior service of the Pasha's harem. The number of pupils amounts, at present, to about two hundred; and the hospital contains accommodations for six hundred patients.

DCLVII. Adjoining the school of medicine at Abou Zabel are a veterinary hospital and school, under the direction of a Frenchman. One hundred and fifty pupils are here instructed in the duties of their profession on precisely the same plan as that pursued at the neighbouring college. As soon as they have learned to kill a horse, they are forwarded to the regiments. The Pasha is particularly careful that all his different employés; for example, the directors of the chemical works — the saltpetre refinery — the iron foundry — the cotton mills — and the works where the chloride of lime is prepared — have each a certain number of youths from the college of Kasserlyne placed under them, to be instructed in their business. Mr. Galloway has five, and a young Armenian, who received his education in England, twelve Arab youths under his care. — Mr. Wallace, the English engineer, is the only person who has refused to comply, on this point, with the wishes of the Pasha.

DCLVIII. Several of the young gentlemen sent to receive their education at Paris, returned to Egypt in 1832. Stefan Effendi, Aroutin Effendi, and Khosrouff Effendi, three of the most intelligent of the number, who had completed their studies in diplomacy; together with Youssouff Effendi, whose chief attention was directed towards agriculture, — have since been employed in translating the "Ordonnances Militaires" into Turkish. Thus, instead of being placed in the public offices, under the principal members of the government, where, from their talent and information, they might suggest useful reforms, their whole time is consumed in an occupation wholly foreign to their studies, and beyond their comprehension. This misappropriation of the talents of his protégés has been productive, however, of considerable chagrin to the Pasha; for many young men, who had received at his expense an European education, learning the humiliating condition of their fellow students, instead of returning to Egypt, have basely entered into the service of the Sultan. It has been remarked that, at first, the pupils educated in England, where a haughty air of independence is almost necessarily acquired, have not been received by the Pasha with the same smiles and favours which he lavishes on the others; but, by degrees, their merits bring them forcibly into notice, and raise them above their competitors.

DCLIX. Both in the army and fleet, schools are established, where the soldiers and sailors are taught

reading, writing, and arithmetic. The rude fellah from the wilds of Gournou, taken away from the fields at the age of thirty, is now daily seen bending over his slate. No soldier unable to read and write can be promoted to the rank of corporal. In the Naval School at Alexandria, situated in the Arsenal, there are about two hundred students, who are draughted from the College of Kasserlyne, and the School of Artillery at Toura. They are instructed in the art of ship-building, and every preparatory branch of science connected with it. As a proof of the uncommon progress made in a short time by these youths, it may be stated that none but Arabs were employed in superintending the construction of the line-of-battle ship launched in March, 1833; though they were of course directed, in drawing up the plans, by M. Cerisé, and the Frenchmen under his orders. As in European navies, there are schools in all the ships of war. On board the Admiral, for example, there are about eighty youths, who study, under French and Italian teachers, the principles of nautical science, and the duties of their profession; and in all the other vessels their numbers are in proportion. Those destined to officer the new ships, probably amount to above one hundred and fifty. Mr. Bartholomew, English Missionary in Egypt, being desirous of establishing a Lancasterian School at Alexandria, applied to the Pasha for permission. Into this school it was at first intended to admit the children of Copts, Levantines, and Jews, as well as of Mohammedans; but to this part of the plan the

Pasha objected, observing that it was not yet time for such an innovation. He consented, however, to the establishment of the school; but, with a jealous delicacy, extraordinary in a Turk, refused to permit it to be supported by charitable contributions, engaging to defray the whole expense himself. When it was urged that the principal advantage arising from the promiscuous admission of children of all sects would have been the inspection of an European committee, he replied that the school might still be placed under the superintendence of such a committee, though the pupils, at the outset, must all be Arabs. It is understood, moreover, that the religion of the children is not to be directly interfered with. A copy of the regulations of an European Lancasterian school is about to be transmitted to Egypt, to serve them as a model in framing their own. In the whole of this transaction the Pasha, in my opinion, has acted with extraordinary prudence. Had he permitted the promiscuous mixture required by the Europeans, no Arab would have sent his children to the institution; whereas, under the inspection of an enlightened committee, not permitted to interfere directly with their religion, the road to Christianity may be thrown open, and children of a different creed introduced singly, as if by mere inadvertence.

DCLX. On the conclusion of the peace with the Porte, the Pasha immediately directed his attention to the internal improvement of his country, which

must be inevitably succeeded by an amelioration in the condition of the fellahs. The first step towards the necessary reforms was judicious. Departing from Alexandria, attended by his chief officers, he commenced a tour of the villages; during which, whatever may be the result, he will perceive the fatal effects of the recent war. On his return to Cairo, it is his intention to establish an agricultural school. The students, consisting of the sons of the Arab Sheïkhs, will be taught the science of husbandry by several Turks who studied in France and Germany. Their education being completed, each of the students is to receive one hundred fedans * of land, and, to encourage industry and excite emulation, rewards are to be held out to those who display most intelligence and economy in the management of their farms. The Pasha himself will supply all the necessary agricultural implements, and the apparatus for artificial irrigation. A statistical survey of the conquered provinces, in which the same system of government and education will doubtless be pursued, is now making; and, to facilitate communication between Alexandria and the interior, the construction of a road across the desert has been commenced.

* One hundred and twelve acres.

CHAPTER XVIII.

INTRODUCTION OF THE MANUFACTURING SYSTEM INTO EGYPT — FACTORY OF KROMFISH — FAILURE IN PRODUCING MUSLIN AND VELVETS — FACTORY CONVERTED INTO A COTTON-MILL — OPPOSITION OF THE TURKS — NEW COTTON FACTORIES IN THE PROVINCES — EMPLOYMENT OF BLACK SLAVES — DEATH OF THE NEGROES — MODEL MACHINERY — MANUFACTURE OF PREPARATORY INSTRUMENTS IN EGYPT — HONOURS CONFERRED ON THE DIRECTORS OF THE FACTORIES — DISHONESTY OF THE OFFICERS — INSALUBRITY OF THE OCCUPATION — MISERIES OF THE WORKMEN — FEROCIOUS PUNISHMENTS — COTTON-MILLS SET ON FIRE — DESPERATION OF THE ARABS — PROCESS OF SPINNING AND WEAVING — LOSSES OF THE PASHA — CAUSES OF FAILURE — INGENUITY OF THE ARABS — ACCOMPANIED BY NEGLIGENCE — ENGLISH SPINNERS — VASTNESS AND PICTURESQUE APPEARANCE OF THE COTTON-MILLS — NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS EMPLOYED — WORKMEN SUPPLIED BY THE SHEÏKHS — PRACTICE OF THIEVING — IGNORANT AND UNJUST REGULATIONS OF THE TURKS — ABSURD REGULATIONS FOR PREVENTING PECULATION — LUDICROUS EXAMPLE — TOTAL FAILURE OF THE SYSTEM — INTRODUCTION OF STEAM-ENGINES — PROJECTED REMOVAL OF THE FACTORIES TO SYRIA — EUROPEAN AGENTS OF THE PASHA — A HINT TO BRITISH MANUFACTURERS — LIST OF FACTORIES IN EGYPT — ANECDOTE OF THE IMPRESSMENT OF A SANTON, AND TWO OTHER VAGABONDS, TO WORK IN THE MILLS.

DCLXI. Not content with imparting to his people a knowledge of the sciences, and the arts of war, Mohammed Ali, in 1819, was led by the advice of Europeans to attempt the introduction of the manufacturing system. In this undertaking he was deluded by fallacious calculations. Being persuaded that,

with the aid of certain French and Swiss adventurers, it was possible to render Cairo a second Manchester, he commenced operations with his usual rapidity. French, Italian, Maltese, and Savoyard manufacturers and artisans were employed. Kromfish, a district of miserable houses and narrow streets, in the centre of the metropolis, infamous for murders and every other horrid crime, was cleared of its inhabitants, and the whole den of thieves and cut-throats converted, with very trifling alterations, into factories. No expense was spared in procuring every description of machinery from Europe. Magazines were formed; mills, worked by bullocks, constructed; and the machinery was erected by the principal French and Italian mechanics. This establishment was directed by M. Morel of Chamberi; and another large factory, erected at Boolak, was placed under the superintendence of M. Jumel, a Frenchman. The number of natives employed in this new species of industry amounted to eight hundred.

DCLXII. At Kromfish an attempt was made to produce velvets equal to those of Genoa, and muslins not inferior to those of England; but, after a short trial, the destruction of the machinery, which could not be repaired, and the extremely inferior quality of the articles manufactured, induced the Pasha, — perhaps before the experiment had been fairly tried, — wholly to abandon this portion of the scheme. Kromfish was not, however, entirely forsaken. Mohammed

Ali was still desirous of rendering Egypt a manufacturing country; a failure in one experiment not being sufficient to deter him from attempting others. The cultivation of the cotton-plant already promised to become a fertile source of revenue. He now, therefore, determined to manufacture from the raw material, and Kromfish became a cotton-mill.

DCLXIII. On the first introduction of European manufactories into Egypt, the Turks in office, and even the people in general, openly evinced their disapprobation in their mutual discourse; and the former were often bold enough to represent to the Pasha, in open Divan, the impolicy of his conduct. But courtiers in all countries are too much the slaves of habit, too timid in their apprehensions, and too ignorant of whatever concerns the public good, to be competent judges in an untried line of internal policy. The Pasha, therefore, despised their representations, which arose out of no superior degree of foresight, but from a puerile aversion to every thing new; and his will necessarily prevailed. Encouraged by the first samples produced at Kromfish, he now caused cotton-mills to be erected at Mehalet-el-Kebir, at Mansourah, and in the southern parts of the metropolis. At first, no persons were employed in the factories but black slaves from Darfour and Kordofan, who displayed great intelligence, and quickly acquired a competent knowledge of the business; but so great a change of life, co-operating with the peculiar un-

healthiness of the occupation, gradually thinned their ranks, so that the Pasha was shortly compelled to have recourse to the Fellahs.

DCLXIV. It must be observed that, with the exception of a few machines adapted to each manipulation, brought out from Europe as models, no cotton-spinning apparatus has been imported into the country. The store-houses were furnished with tools; lathes, screw-tapping lathes, instruments for fluting rollers, and cutting the teeth of wheels, with other preparatory instruments, —all purchased in England and France at an enormous cost; and upon these models preparatory instruments were soon multiplied by the carpenters, smiths, filers, turners, &c. formed under the tuition of the French and Italian artisans; who, under the superintendence of M. Jumel,—a professional spinner and mechanic,—constructed all the spinning machinery which now fills the numerous cotton-factories throughout Egypt.

DCLXV. The Pasha regards his manufactories in so important a light, that, to promote emulation, and confer a superior degree of respectability on the professors of the useful arts, he honours their directors with a seat in the Mashwarrah (or council), and further distinguishes them by diamond decorations, which they wear on the breast. All the operative Nazirs, one of whom is placed over every mill, have likewise their badges of honour. The officers, engaged in the factories deem their employment pecu-

liarly honourable; but their conduct is too frequently directly the reverse; for though in the receipt of handsome salaries, they sordidly avail themselves of the mal-organisation of the establishments to commit dishonesty, and plunder their master and their inferiors. Being entrusted with the regulation of the expenses, and the paying of the workmen, they accept bribes to favour an indifferent artisan at the expense of the government, and commit innumerable other frauds difficult of detection. Thus it is that commissioners from the treasury are perpetually engaged in examining accounts and detecting imposition.

DCLXVI. The fellahs employed in the various manipulations have an extreme dislike to the business; being pressed into the mills, they labour only because they are compelled. Though they generally arrive at the factories in good health, the insalubrious nature of the employment, imprisonment, their scanty wages, the insufficiency of their food, and the odious vices which, by the example of their superiors, they quickly learn to commit, in a short time render them diseased and despicable. They seldom see their wives and children, nor are they allowed the requisite time for meals, ablutions, or religious duties. Inattention or mismanagement is followed by immediate chastisement; the directing Nazirs being regularly accompanied by their executioners, who flog the delinquents with the Koorbash. From two hundred to five hundred blows are not unusual; so that a

cotton-spinner in Egypt is no less brutally punished than a West India negro; while, in the Pasha's navy, fifty blows are considered a sufficient punishment for ordinary offences. Such being their treatment, it is not at all surprising that the operatives eagerly avail themselves of the first opportunity which presents itself of making their escape; or, where this is impracticable, of revenging their wrongs in a more serious manner. Of the twenty-three or twenty-four cotton-mills existing in Egypt, there is not one which has not, at various periods, been accidentally or designedly set on fire. The factory at Siout, which employed about six hundred hands, was purposely burned to the ground; and, towards the close of December, 1832, the power-loom weaving mill of Khand-el-Merood was likewise designedly destroyed by fire. In the latter establishment the loss was estimated at 35,000*l.* On the day preceding this accident, a fellah, who had been dragged against his inclination into the rope-walk, stabbed himself in three places, and, after a short struggle, expired.

DCLXVII. In the provincial mills the raw material is beaten, carded, and spun by men and boys; and the yarn, when taken off the reels, is put loosely into large bags, and transported to Cairo on camels. But, in some of the factories, a small portion is retained and woven into cloth, part of which being sent to the capital, the remainder is appropriated to the payment of the operatives. For this purpose they make use of hand-looms, built after French models.

At present not one of the mills keeps its full complement of machinery at work, and there are several where not one half is employed; in some cases because the machines are actually worn out; in others from the scarcity of hands. Through the ignorance and carelessness of the directors and their operatives, about fifty per cent. of the raw material is wasted; and in the majority of the factories the value of the article, when spun, is inferior to that of the cotton in its natural state. If we reflect on this circumstance, on the one hand, and, on the other, that the Pasha obtains the labour of his subjects for almost nothing, it becomes manifest that Egypt gains nothing by its factories, though his Highness continues to keep them going, either because he is averse to acknowledge his error by abandoning them, or because he still entertains hopes that they may hereafter become profitable.

DCLXVIII. Nevertheless, there is a strong probability that the same causes which have hitherto concurred to render his spinning schemes abortive, will always continue to exercise the same influence. A despotic government is naturally disinclined to award a just remuneration for labour,—the only lasting excitement to industry,—and therefore the Arab perceives no sufficient motive for renouncing his idle habits. In the first fervour of his manufacturing enthusiasm, when he probably thought of no less an attempt than rivalling Manchester and Glasgow, the Pasha was liberal both towards natives and Europeans. But when his Highness came to employ

no less, perhaps, than twelve thousand souls in his cotton mills alone, he saw plainly that his entire revenue would be insufficient adequately to reward merit and industry. Naturally inclined to run into extremes, his former magnificence now made way for his present sordidness; in fact, the wages received by the unhappy fellah, is barely sufficient to provide for his daily subsistence. Waiving this moral consideration, which would, however, be thought weighty enough, in any civilised country, to be an eternal bar to all improvement in manufactures — there is a natural cause, that no expense can remedy, ever tending to the same effect. The quality of the atmosphere, deeply impregnated with nitre, is destructive to the more delicate parts of the machinery; while those fine joints and interstices, — the working parts of the mill, — which, in England, are kept in order by the judicious use of the finest oil, and the most exquisite adjustment of the neighbouring parts in motion, — are, in this country, soon spoiled by the peculiar nature of the dust, consisting of fine silicious atoms, which the most compact building, and the best glazed windows could never prevent from collecting in great quantities. Besides, the irregular motion of the cattle-mills is injurious to the machinery of the preparatory manipulations; and the machines, once out of order, are often completely spoiled in the hands of Arab mechanics.

DCLXIX. It should, however, be remarked, that the Arabs make rapid progress in the first rudiments

of the trade; quickly learning to imitate what is shown them by their teachers, who are, in general, very imperfectly instructed themselves. In entering a cotton mill, the stranger is at first surprised at the novelty of the sight, observing half-naked miserable fellahs performing operations which he has probably only beheld at Manchester: but, on closer inspection, he cannot help discovering their ignorance and negligence. For example, though common sense would dictate that a quantity of cotton, after being delivered in regular form through a certain machine, should be immediately carried, in its actual condition, to the next, it is a common practice in all the mills still further to spoil and disfigure the crude produce of an imperfect machine, before it is submitted to the action of the succeeding one, in the order of manipulation. Some of the factories in Cairo are under the direction of English spinners, whose industry, zeal, and superior skill, have enabled them to introduce several improvements, while they have succeeded in economising to a vast extent; yet they can never answer the expectations of the Pasha, success being opposed by obstacles which no talent, no ingenuity can overcome. It has been urged to his Highness that the only mode of deriving adequate advantage from his manufactories would be the making use of steam-engines instead of bullock-mills; but the proposal was probably made on private views of interest, its originator being too patriotic to allow of our attributing to him any other motive.

DCLXX. The traveller, on his way to the upper country, is astonished at the vastness of the cotton-mills, which, though differing in dimensions, are all built on the same plan. They are constructed with rubble and mortar, and covered externally with stucco. For the small number of machines they contain, they are much more spacious than necessary. The apartments, which are flagged with stone, are extremely lofty, and the doors and windows proportionably large. All the bullock-mills, along the front of the buildings, are enclosed in large towers, adorned with bow windows, balconies, and balustrades. Spacious flights of stone steps ascend to the second story, and the entrance is generally shaded by a light wooden trellis-work. All these buildings are erected in the finest situations. At Minieh, for example, the mill is situated on the edge of the Nile, and surrounded by a grove of orange and date trees, which give it a picturesque appearance. The expense of building one of the smaller mills amounts to about 7,000*l.* sterling; but I can make no approximation to the sum which the machinery must cost the Pasha.

DCLXXI. The number of persons employed in the mills in April, 1833, had been reduced to about six thousand individuals; and the cattle did not exceed twelve hundred. Still the expense incurred by the mere maintenance of the men and cattle, could not amount to less than one million five hundred thousand piastres per annum; while the loss arising from the destruction of cattle, the repair of the machinery, and

the embezzlement of the Nazirs, &c. probably exceeded two millions of piastres. Seventy thousand cantars of raw material are annually delivered into the mills; one half of which is actually destroyed through carelessness and ignorance, and the other half manufactured so rudely, that, in an European market, it would not fetch its original cost in the bale.

DCLXXII. In the metropolis the mills are supplied with workmen by the Sheïkhs of the different quarters, who impress apprentice boys and ignorant husbandmen to thrust them into the factories. At Kromfish, which is under the direction of a young Armenian, who speaks English, the number of the operatives, in the spinning and weaving departments, amounts to about eight hundred. The monthly expenses of that mill, including the pay of the Coptic clerks, is said to amount to twenty-four thousand piastres; but this sum is merely nominal, for, as far as the operatives are concerned, the value of their daily bread being deducted from the whole sum of their wages, at the expiration of the month, a mere trifle remains, which they receive partly in cash, and partly in cloth of their own manufacture, delivered to them at an arbitrary price by the Nazirs. The clerks and others are generally left very long in arrears, so that most of them, having wives and children, are reduced to the necessity of robbing the factories to preserve themselves from starving; and, the restraint of principle being once set aside, the practice of thieving is continued ever after.

DCLXXIII. Even where the machinery and arrangements in a manufactory are of the best description, the observance or neglect of domestic economy often occasions the difference of profit or loss. In Egypt, independently of the natural and moral causes already enumerated, whose operation so powerfully opposes the Pasha's intentions, the manner in which the distribution of labour is effected, is in itself an absurdity, and the Turks, in their daily endeavours to enforce it, are guilty of the most crying injustice. Each spinner is expected to work twenty-two pounds of twist per day, summer and winter. In imposing this task, the difference in the length of the day, between sunrise and sunset, is not taken into consideration; nor is the increase of labour in producing like quantities in the higher numbers calculated. The injustice of this extraordinary regulation has been frequently represented to the Pasha through the proper channels, but without effect, as it still remains in force throughout the whole country. The precautions taken against dishonesty and peculation are worthy of a community of pickpockets. For example, if the director of the mill of Sitti Zeneïb requires a pound of grease, he enters it in his particular account, and requests the Nazir Effendi to give him a *teskeré;* which is merely an order on the Nazir of the Stores at Boolak, demanding the price of the article; the order being presented to the Nazir of the Stores, he writes under it the price of the grease. It is now carried back to Sitti Zeneïb, and the Nazir Effendi, if he sees no

objection, forwards the teskeré to the Kihaya Bey (Lord-Lieutenant); who, with due discretion, signs or seals it. The ceremony ended, it next makes its appearance in the treasury, where several copies are taken by the heads of different departments. After going through such a range of official precaution, the article is delivered into the expense magazine of the mill of Sitti Zeneïb; where pretty nearly the same ceremonies are again gone through before it reaches the hands of the director. This important business, respecting a pound of grease, generally consumes four days! Notwithstanding all these precautions, the Pasha is plundered on all sides; and the multiplication of teskerés serves no other purpose than to demonstrate the dishonesty of his officers. At Gallioop mill, the largest and finest in the whole country, a deficit of forty-five thousand *batmans* of yarn was, in June, 1832, clearly made out. In Cairo the Nazirs and clerks are eternally engaged in investigating and endeavouring to trace to their authors the almost monthly depredations made in the *khasnès* (treasuries) of the factories, and in the different magazines. Perhaps this may be the main reason why the Pasha, aware of their dishonesty, places so little confidence in his people, and that his temper, once soured, manifests itself in the adoption of a harsh and severe policy indiscriminately towards all.

DCLXXIV. It is now nearly fourteen years since the first attempt was made to introduce the

cotton manufacture into Egypt; and the wisdom of the Pasha's policy may be estimated with tolerable accuracy by the result. At present most of the mills are in ruins, and immense heaps of machinery, no longer employed, are covered with rust, and mouldering to decay. Nevertheless, Egypt is haunted by a class of foreign mechanics and adventurers, who adduce the example of England to prove to the misled Pasha, that a change of machinery and management will quickly convert his mills into a lucrative source of revenue: indeed, I believe they have even gone so far as to allude to the possibility of successfully competing with Manchester and Glasgow. The Pasha, in all doubtful matters, generally embraces the most flattering side; for, in his manufacturing schemes, he appears to think nothing beyond his powers of creation. His Highness having been informed that coal is to be found in great quantities in Syria, has, in consequence, adopted the determination of making his own steam-engines, to drive an immense number of cotton-mills. But these are not to be set up in Egypt, which, he has at length discovered, can never be converted into a manufacturing country. His recent conquests are next to taste of the bitterness of a speculating and cotton-spinning despotism; which, in lieu of encouraging the efforts of private industry, invades the province of the manufacturer and the merchant, and is justly punished with disappointment and chagrin. No reasonable man, therefore, can apprehend any lasting competition from a people ignorant in the extreme, and morally depressed to the lowest depths to

which humanity can sink. The peasants are enabled to exist merely that they may labour for the government; and, while this continues to be the case, they can never excel. There is only one man in Egypt interested in the success of the manufactures. The Europeans engaged in the mills are, for the most part, unprincipled adventurers, who find their advantage in the ignorance and dilatoriness of the Turks. Receiving their pay, they are content to allow affairs to proceed in their natural course. One of these mechanics, who has resided many years in the country, where he is nearly naturalized, has done much for the Pasha and his own friends in Europe, exercising the important functions of engineer and contractor greatly to the satisfaction of his employer; who has discovered the novel method of estimating the qualities of machinery by the exorbitance of its price.

DCLXXV. From what has been said on the state of the cotton manufacture in Egypt, and the insurmountable obstacles to its success, arising from the nature of the government, the climate, and the morals of the people, it will be abundantly clear that the Pasha can never become a formidable rival, in that particular branch of industry, even to the least advanced of European nations. It is impossible, however, to regard without indignation the unhappy disposition of a prince, who, having once suffered himself to be made the dupe of designing individuals, is too proud to abandon his chimerical projects; while his unfortunate subjects, tormented by his

caprice, and ground down by his despotism, are deprived of the miserable consolation of reflecting that their labour, however unproductive to themselves, is advantageous to their master. In closing my remarks on this subject, I shall venture to make one suggestion to the manufacturers of Great Britain: all yarns intended for the Levant should be more twisted than is considered necessary in the European markets. The natives of Syria and Constantinople make use of a species of shirting, woven of hard twisted thread, which gives the fabric a crisp appearance. For this purpose they would consume a large quantity of British yarn, were it spun in the mule, in a contrary direction to that in general practice in our mules; and the quantity consumed would be still more considerable, were the English manufacturer to give his article twice the ordinary degree of torsion; the direction of the twist being immaterial.

DCLXXVI. I subjoin a list of the factories of different kinds now existing in Egypt: —

1. Sugar and rum manufactory at Er Raramoun.
2. Powder manufactory at Rhouda.
3. Saltpetre refinery at Rhouda.
4. Chemical works, at Masr el Atikeh (*Old Cairo*).
5. Tannery, *Old Cairo.*
6. Founderies for brass guns and carriages in the citadel.
7. Copper-mills.

CITADEL.

8. Pyrotechnic school: fire works, carcasses, stink-pots, signal rockets, &c.

CAIRO.

9. Cotton-mills.

10. Weaving, silk and cotton.

11. Rope walks, for Alexandria.

12. Musket manufactory: here they repair monthly 1600 old muskets, and manufacture 400 new ones, under the direction of Ali Aga, a French renegade, with the rank of Colonel.

13. Cloth manufactory.

14. Calico printing works.

15. Bleaching fields.

16. Iron foundery: to appearance the finest in the world. By Galloway.

17. Power-loom weaving factory. By Galloway.

18. Dying works.

ROSETTA.

19. Rice-mills. By Galloway.

20. Tannery.

21. Corn-mills: there now exist about forty; but it is contemplated to increase the number to two hundred.

22. Glass-house.

23. At Malta-Fabrick, four hundred forges, employed for the fleet and army.

24. At Gallioop, one hundred and fifty forges set up, but not worked.

25. Paper mill; recently established near Cairo.

26. Manufactory of Tarbooshes, at Fouah. Directed by Tunisians.

DCLXXVII. The difficulty of procuring workpeople for the factories has been already alluded to; but the following relation, from the mouth of one of the Pasha's officers, throws an additional light upon the subject. On my first arrival at Cairo, he observed, while I was yet ignorant of the place, a deficiency was discovered in the number of the workmen; and, in reply to my representations, it was urged that the Sheïkhs, with all their vigilance, were unable to seize upon any more fellahs. Fully persuaded that this was a mere pretext to cover their own indolence, I undertook, with the Nazir Effendi's permission, to impress as many idle persons as they pleased. Accordingly, having received his assent, I sallied forth from the factory, attended by six baltajis, instructed to obey my orders, and had not proceeded far before I observed a Santon. He was a tall, robust, fine young man, who, however, had forsaken the world, to subsist upon its charity. Seeing me approach, he began to beg; upon which I held up my finger, and he was instantly bound. Astonished at our audacity, he began to clamour about the privileges of his order; and, observing that this produced no effect, called on the surrounding Musulmans to assist him. A scuffle now ensued, which, I feared, would end

seriously. However, at the bare mention of the name of Mohammed Ali Pasha, which I uttered with emphasis, the crowd forsook their saint, and allowed the chaooshes to conduct him to the factory.

DCLXXVIII. This done, I directed my course through the Gate of Victory towards the cemeteries; where I expected to find a multitude of idlers, though not of the description we met with. The first persons seized were two profligates, whom we found in their effeminate costume sitting over a grave. Though ignorant of what fate awaited them, they struggled to preserve their ornaments; but, being stripped of their rings, beads, and silk garments, and commanded to adjust their blue shirts like men, they were so changed, in appearance, that they could no longer be recognised. Thus habited, they were led off to the factories; where, complaining of hunger, they were furnished with bread and beans. When their hunger was appeased, they were set to work. The prisoners taken from the tombs patiently submitted to the drudgery; but the Santon being inflexible, it was found necessary to have recourse to physical arguments, and he was accordingly ordered to be severely bastinadoed on the soles of the feet. Fearing a repetition of this treatment, his spirit was humbled, and he worked like his companions. On the approach of evening, having no one to become security for their reappearance, they were shut up, for the night, in a dungeon, in company with above a hundred other men in the same predicament.

DCLXXIX. Next morning, serious complaints were made against the conduct of the two younger prisoners during the night; on which, the Santon had threatened to bring down the vengeance of heaven upon the factory, and all those connected with it. In consequence, the former were dismissed, as incorrigible; but the Santon, possessing great physical strength, was retained, and put to very hard labour. In the course of the day, however, a long procession of Sheïkhs, most of them persons of respectable appearance, made application to the Nazir Effendi, complaining of the infraction of the privileges of their order. I was immediately commanded to appear before the Nazir, to explain my conduct and motives. My defence was not difficult. Formerly, I observed, while there existed no cotton-mills in Egypt, idleness might not have been regarded as an offence; but now, since his Highness had determined to admit of no pretence whatever for escaping from labour, all able-bodied men, found begging, were decidedly criminals, and liable to be impressed into the public service. To this argument no reply was attempted: they all agreed it was not right that any person should lead an idle life; but requested, as a favour, that this particular Santon might be set at liberty. In compliance with this request, he was accordingly liberated, upon an understanding that he should no more be found begging, under penalty of sharing the fate of other fellahs. He accordingly disappeared from that quarter of the city, and was never again seen.

CHAPTER XIX.

REGULATIONS OF THE PASHA IN FAVOUR OF COMMERCE — CAUSES OF HIS ERRORS — TRIBUNAL OF COMMERCE — LIST OF MEMBERS — PASHA'S MONOPOLY — CHARACTERISTICS OF HIS GOVERNMENT — ARTICLES MONOPOLISED — IMPERFECTIONS OF HIS SYSTEM — SUPERIORITY OF IBRAHIM'S NOTIONS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY — MODE OF COLLECTING THE PRODUCE — AVARICE OF THE INFERIOR OFFICERS OF GOVERNMENT — MONOPOLY OF COFFEE — EVILS OF THIS MEASURE — SUPERIORITY OF MOKHA COFFEE — MONOPOLY OF SALT — OPPOSITION OF THE NATIVES — DEFEATED BY THE PASHA — COTTON PLANTATIONS AND TRADE — CLIMATE AND SOIL ADAPTED TO THE CULTIVATION OF THIS PLANT — MERCHANTS OF EGYPT — SERVILITY OF THE ARMENIANS.

DCLXXX. THE Pasha is certainly desirous of promoting the interests both of commerce and industry, though the measures he adopts are frequently destructive of his own designs. But, in more civilised countries than Egypt, where the government enjoys the advantages of consulting the experience and wisdom of deliberative assemblies, and the mature investigation of philosophers, the regulations framed for the advancement of commerce sometimes impede its progress, and counteract the intentions of the legislators. Mohammed Ali is an uneducated man, a soldier of fortune, who, at the age of forty, could neither read nor write; and all those surrounding

him are still more ignorant than himself. These circumstances, if properly considered, will fully account for his errors in political economy and government; while his indefatigable exertions, however misdirected, in diffusing the seeds of civilisation, in aiming at awakening the energy of the Arabs, in creating a vast naval and military force, in emancipating himself and his country from the yoke of the Ottomans, must be regarded as the manifestation of a powerful original genius. Fierce unprincipled passions occasionally precipitate him into acts of cruelty; and a costly, though, perhaps, necessary war, has compelled him to inflict almost unexampled suffering and misery on the people of Egypt: but, in the midst of these unfavourable circumstances, he has exhibited a political capacity of no common order.

DCLXXXI. Among his most useful institutions is the Tribunal of Commerce. In order to emancipate the movements and operations of trade from the troublesome rules and inequality of rights which existed under the Mohammedan laws, the Pasha has established, both at Cairo and Alexandria, a commercial tribunal, resembling a court of equity. This tribunal is composed, at Alexandria, of individuals of different nations, under the presidency of Mohammed el Gharby, an Arab. The members are, Mohammed Shararah, an Arab; Ibrahim Aboushál, an Arab; Mustapha Sakha, an Arab; Florent Tour-

neau, a Frenchman; Abraham Lauria, an European Jew; Antonaid, a Levantine Christian; Antony Alphany, a Levantine Christian; and Michael Tossizza, a Greek. Before this tribunal all complaints connected with commerce are brought, and all contests are decided. Sentences are signed by all the members, each writing his own name. The president, though unacquainted with any European language, is regarded as a man of talent.

DCLXXXII. In describing the monopoly of the Pasha,—since it is this alone which gives a character to his administration,—we may be said to embrace every thing peculiar in his system of government. He must, no doubt, have foreseen the contest in which he would be engaged with the Porte, and the vast expenditure it would inevitably occasion. It is probable, therefore, that, in commencing this monopoly, his principal object was, to amass the funds necessary for carrying his grand object into effect. He is naturally, however, more inclined to profusion than parsimony; his expenditure has, consequently, always equalled, if not exceeded, his revenue: and, under the present system, this circumstance operates, in some measure, as a relief to the country, by returning the money whence it was derived. The distinguishing principles recognisable in the Pasha's government, are, a strict impartiality in the administration of justice, and equal protection to persons of all nations and religions, united with

extreme promptitude in the suppression of disorders.

DCLXXXIII. The objects monopolised by the Pasha embrace nearly all the productions of the soil, with many of the most important articles which pass through the country in the way of transit. This monopoly, besides the objections applying to all monopolies, wherever established, is liable to others, arising from the extreme difficulty of finding among the Turks honest and trustworthy agents. Under such a system, no person in the country can, in fact, have any interest in protecting the property amassed by the government; and, in the event of an invasion, the inhabitants, instead of preserving or defending his Highness's stores, would undoubtedly be the first to pillage and destroy them. Besides, there are other evils resulting from the system in daily operation. In the first place, the peasant has little inducement to bring his produce to market in the best marketable state: he will, therefore, bestow no trouble in picking, clearing, and assorting his cotton; consequently, this article rarely sells in Europe at more than a half or two thirds of what it is intrinsically worth. The care and attention bestowed by a trader on the preservation of his commodities, are not to be expected from the public officer; who is only solicitious that the article shall not be deficient in weight or measure. In consesequence, if any kind of merchandise, in descending

the Nile, receive damage from the weather, the bad is mixed with the good, to the deterioration of that which is in a sound state; a mode of proceeding directly the reverse of what prevails in Europe, where the greatest care is taken, and much expense incurred, to separate the bad from the good. The general interests of commerce are likewise injuriously affected by the Pasha's system; for, in the delivery and distribution of articles, favours and preferences are to be purchased from the administrators: for example, one merchant, for a bribe, is served with articles of a better quality, or in a larger proportion than others; irregularities which his highness, had he the eyes of Argus, could neither discover nor prevent.

DCLXXXIV. It is the opinion of many persons of judgment and observation that, in political economy, Ibrahim Pasha possesses sounder notions than his father. He has, in fact, advised several measures which have proved, in their operation, exceedingly beneficial: such as the abolition of the shipping of cotton for Europe, on the account of government; that is, pursuing the monopoly into the countries where the article was consumed. He likewise wholly disapproves of the manufacturing system, and has clearly shown that loss is sustained by it. But the Pasha, who, in reality, could never have been ignorant of this circumstance, still perseveres in his original scheme, observing, that he is actuated by motives

which he does not consider it expedient to disclose. Perhaps he imagines no better means exist of habituating the Arabs to patient and laborious habits. Whatever his views may be, they are not the offspring of avarice, since he perceives that no accession to the revenue is derived from his weaving and spinning.

DCLXXXV. To proceed, however, with the monopoly.—When the peasant has collected his produce, it must be immediately delivered in at the different *shoonahs*, or "warehouses," established in the several towns and provinces. It is seldom necessary to transport commodities to any great distance, as warehouses exist in all the districts in the country. When arrived at the shoonah, the articles are weighed or measured, and an order on the treasury is given for the money, at a price previously fixed by the council. This checque is received back from the peasant, at its full value, in payment of taxes; but the balance he generally re-sells at a discount, sometimes of twenty-five or thirty per cent., rather than make direct application to the treasury, always exceedingly dilatory in its proceedings. From these provincial shoonahs the goods are ordered down, as they may be wanted, to Alexandria, where they are dispersed among the different merchants; in his dealings with whom the Pasha observes the utmost good faith. If any injustice is clearly proved to have been committed by any of his officers, the evil, upon representation, is immediately redressed. Even in cases where the

merchants have suffered from their own imprudence, he has often mitigated their losses by giving them the preference in some other article, or showing them particular favours. But these matters are frequently mystified by the inferior officers, who, in imitation of the Pasha, likewise become monopolists in an inferior degree; and, as far as their influence extends, they are the worst of all. But this abuse exists to no great extent at present; for their character being in some degree improved, they have been led to think it disreputable to engage in such transactions.

DCLXXXVI. In the beginning of the summer of 1831, the Pasha undertook to monopolise the coffee trade with Yemen, which had hitherto remained in the hands of most respectable merchants. To encourage this branch of commerce, all other coffee had been prohibited in Egypt from time immemorial, being greatly inferior, both in perfume and flavour, to the Mokha berry. The result, however, of the monopoly was, that no supply of the article arrived, even for interior consumption; though previous to this period, not only was the market annually abundantly stocked for the home consumption, but a much larger quantity was introduced for exportation. In consequence of the suspension of the Mokha trade, the Pasha saw himself compelled to annul the regulation prohibiting the importation of coffee from the west; and American, and Mokha coffee from Europe, were imported, subject to a duty of two piastres per oke.*

* Forty-four ounces.

Up to this time, the price of Mokha coffee in Egypt had been from thirteen to fifteen dollars per cantar, — one hundred and five pounds English; — but the monopoly price was fixed at from twenty to twenty-two dollars per cantar. There was, therefore, a prospect of a great accession of revenue; but experience soon proved that, while the tax was severely felt by the people, the treasury likewise suffered very considerably. In the first place, the Pasha lost all the transit duties; which, without taking into account the injury inflicted on the merchants formerly engaged in this traffic, much more than counterbalanced the extra profit derived from the monopoly; the quantity of coffee exported from Egypt having greatly exceeded what was retained for home consumption. Still further to increase the evil, however, it was now subjected, at Jidda, to a heavy custom-house duty, amounting to five dollars, or one pound sterling, per cantar. By no means the least inconvenience arising from this imprudent regulation, was, the necessity of transmitting to Mokha effective dollars for the purchase; and these, the Pasha was, moreover, compelled to send many months in advance, to secure the proper supply. This remittance, while the trade remained in the hands of the merchants, was chiefly made in goods, with profit to the country, and an increase of revenue to the treasury, arising from custom-house dues, &c. But the Pasha is deprived even of the slight advantages which might, perhaps, be derived from this exclusive trade, by the impossibility of finding competent, or even honest persons, to entrust with the transaction of

the business. In order to render the measure still more onerous and odious, his Highness condescends to engross even the retail sale, constituting himself the only coffee-dealer in Egypt; but, in proportion as the price of the article increased, the consumption diminished: so that the monopoly has only operated as a burden to the country and a loss to the treasury. Were this obstruction removed, the stream of the Yemen trade would again flow through Egypt, its natural channel; the coffee brought by this route being extremely superior to that which is conveyed over the ocean; for, in the course of a long voyage, the saline air deprives it of the perfume in which chiefly consists the superiority of Mokha coffee over all other kinds. The time consumed in the voyage on the Red Sea does not exceed a fortnight; and in another month it may already be distributed through the various countries of Europe.

DCLXXXVII. Another of the Pasha's unpopular measures is the monopoly of salt, of which the Egyptians generally consume a great quantity. On the imposition of a very heavy tax, however, many villages, partly, perhaps, through poverty, partly through a spirit of resistance, entirely dropped the use of it; thereby causing a great deficiency in the revenue. For some time his Highness, notwithstanding his peculiar genius for finance, was considerably embarrassed by this novel kind of opposition: but the fertility of his invention is truly extraordinary; while the sagacious fellahs, charmed with their stratagem,

were congratulating themselves on what they regarded as a master-piece of policy, a number of government boats, laden with salt, were observed mooring under the villages. Presently the merchandise was disembarked, and piled in pyramidal heaps upon the plain. This done, an officer waited on the Sheïkh el Beled, informing him that his Highness, having ascertained the quantity of salt formerly consumed in his village, had forwarded the necessary supply; for the value of which he would be held responsible to government, whether the article were consumed or not!

DCLXXXVIII. Cotton constitutes a very important article in the commerce of the Pasha. A few years ago the cotton-tree, which had been cultivated to so great an extent by the ancient Egyptians, was only known as an ornamental shrub in the gardens of Cairo. The Pasha, however, learning its valuable properties, caused several experimental plantations to be made, and, these succeeding, turned his attention to its cultivation on a large scale. Two thousand fedans were planted in the provinces of Kelioub, Sharkiah, and Mansourah; and still more extensive plantations were afterwards made in various parts of Upper Egypt. It seems, however, to be commonly supposed, that the soil of Egypt is not adapted to the culture of cotton. Even among individuals otherwise well informed, extremely erroneous ideas prevail respecting the soil and climate best adapted to the growth of this valuable plant. Mr. Chaplin, in his examination before the House of

Lords, 1830*, correctly observed, that a red soil is not suited to the cultivation of cotton, which flourishes best in a rich black loam, such as that of Egypt. Others, however, imagine the contrary†; but their opinion is of less weight, being founded on a very limited experience in Brazil; where the soil, near the sea, is extremely arid, consisting chiefly of sand and shells. From the same cause, it has been concluded that no land is well suited to this species of cultivation, but such as is covered with timber, which may be cut down and burned for manure. But Egypt, where there is no timber, produces, after the Sea Island and Santu, the best cotton in the world. The finest cotton in India is produced in the province of Dacca, within twenty miles of the sea: the same thing may likewise be observed of that grown in the Isle of Bourbon, in China, and in Sea Island. Hence it has been inferred, by Mr. Crawford‡, that the vicinity of the sea is indispensable to the production of fine long-stapled cotton. But this opinion is unfounded. In Brazil, as Mr. Carruthers observes, the cotton of the interior is superior to that grown on the coast; and in Egypt, where, perhaps, the experiment has been more fairly tried, the cotton of the upper provinces, several hundred miles from the sea, is superior to that of the Delta. A remark of more general application is, that the warm countries near the line are best adapted to this species of

* Report from the Lords, July 1830, folio, p. 180.

† I allude to Mr. Carruthers, Report, &c., 320, 321.

‡ Reports, &c., p. 344.

produce; the cotton found in countries too far north or south being coarse and woolly. In Pernambuco, where the best Brazilian cotton is found, the seed is sown in March, at rather wide intervals. The plant bears the first season, and still better the second; but the produce of the third year is inferior, and after this it is entirely abandoned. The fields are then left fallow, and fresh land is brought into cultivation. On the alluvial lands of the Mississippi, the whole labour consists in casting the seeds upon the ground. In the East, the annual cotton, usually sown as a second crop after rice, comes to perfection in four months, and is regarded as a very hardy plant. Cotton seed, of a very common sort, is eaten by cattle in India. The ordinary annual plant may, by care, be made to ratoon, or propagate by roots, and thus become perennial, or, at least, be made to bear during four or five years.

DCLXXXIX. The Sea Island cotton, described by some as a perennial, by others as an annual plant*, is said to degenerate at the distance of twelve miles from the shore; but this is altogether incredible. It is the growth of Persian seed, introduced from the Bahama Islands in 1786. In 1791, five years after the first plantation was made, the article was introduced into commerce, the exports amounting to

* The same discrepancy is found in the accounts given by different individuals of the cotton plant of India, which some describe as an annual (Report, &c. p. 348.), others as bearing from ten to fifteen years.

19,200 lbs. Being found to excel all other cottons in the length and fineness of its staple, its cultivation was so much encouraged, that, in 1827, the quantity exported had increased to 294,310,115 lbs., value 29,359,545 dollars. At this period the comparative prices of cotton were:—Sea Island, 13½*d.* to 16*d.*; Egyptian, 8*d.* to 9*d.*; Pernambuco, 7¾*d* to 8½*d.* per lb. A small sample brought from New South Wales, was valued at 10½*d.* In the year 1827, or 1828, a quantity of seed was procured from Sea Island, and sown in Egypt. Great care was bestowed on its growth, gathering, and packing: it was greatly improved both in quality and clearness; and the produce of the Sea Island seed is expected by the merchants to rival the Santu. All these cottons will work as well after being kept twenty years as when fresh gathered. The quantity of cotton exported by the Pasha varies considerably in different years, sometimes amounting to 130,000 bales per annum, and at other times not exceeding 90,000. Owing to the prevalence of a Khamsyn wind, in the summer, it was one year so low as 55,000 bales. In 1832, it did not exceed 102,000 bales, and, from various circumstances, was expected to fall short of that quantity in 1833. The price likewise greatly varies.* In the years 1830

* Wrought cotton, which must frequently be regarded as absolutely spoiled, may be purchased at prices incredibly low. The average numbers of cotton-twists, from 10 to 40, are sold at 8 piastres per oke, of 44 ounces English, payable in assignats of the government, at twelve months' credit. My informant, himself a manufacturer, was assured, at the mills that, for ready money, 6, or even 5½ piastres, per oke, would be taken; which, at the currency of the day, *i. e.* 96 piastres

and 1831, it was 12 dollars the cantar (of 44 okes); in 1832, 10½ dollars; but, in 1833, the Pasha requiring considerable sums for the carrying on of the Syrian war, raised the price to 15 dollars the cantar. The number of ships arriving annually in the port of Alexandria is liable to considerable fluctuation. In 1823, it amounted to 1,200, not including those of the Turks; but this was the greatest number ever known: since then it has varied from 900 to 1000.

DCXC. The principal merchants established at Alexandria are English, French, Italian, Greek, and Armenian; and by far the greater number endeavour, by every species of intrigue, to obtain the favour of the Pasha. Assiduous frequenters of the Divan, every look, word, or smile of their Pasha is subjected to an arithmetical calculation, to ascertain its value in piastres. The Turks being generally exceedingly

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to the pound sterling, is equal to 5½*d.* per pound, English. The price of the raw cotton, from which this is spun, is 6*d.* per pound. It is true that last year (1832) raw cotton was sold at 4½*d.* per pound. This losing price is not submitted to for the purpose of encouraging domestic manufacture, but for exportation; no yarn being allowed to be used in the country beyond the Pasha's own establishments. When the manufactures accumulate in his Highness's warehouses, the shopkeepers are sent for, and compelled to take each a certain quantity at his own price. It would be absurd, however, to regard the manufactories of Egypt as a mere childish toy; no man in possession of his faculties would continue, without some intelligible motive, to weave and spin at a great loss, while enduring the most serious inconvenience from the insufficiency of his revenue to defray the ordinary expenses of government; we must therefore, attribute to his Highness views superior to those of mere gain, or the gratification of vanity.

susceptible of flattery, in which, like all other barbarians, they require neither art nor refinement, find a large fund of this commodity among the merchants. Of the English and French, indeed, and perhaps of the Italians, many preserve a becoming degree of dignity in their deportment; but the Greeks and Armenians, born in despotic countries, exhibit all that adoration of power and authority which invariably distinguishes base and servile souls; and having arrived, in their turn, at the possession of wealth and influence, they exercise towards their inferiors the same insolent contumely to which they themselves submitted when in comparative indigence: for vulgar minds regard it as an article of faith that riches are to be worshipped. Towards the Pasha they continue, whether rich or poor, to show the same humiliating reverence; kissing the fringe of the Divan on which he sits, and pretending, when he walks, to gather up the dust from beneath his feet. Here, therefore, the monarchical principle may be contemplated in all its naked beauty, divested of the manifold disguises cast over it, in Europe, by the sophistry of courtly manners. The result, however, is the same; the slaves thrive by their adulation, and console themselves, in odoriferous gardens, and well-filled harems, for the bitter potion to which they daily condemn themselves in the palace.

CHAPTER XX.

AGRICULTURE — MANNER OF REAPING — CULTIVATION OF DHOURRA, RICE, AND SUGAR — IBRAHIM PASHA'S OLIVE PLANTATIONS — PUNCTUALITY OF HIS PAYMENTS — RATE OF LABOUR — CASSIA FISTULA — MAGNIFICENT CARRIAGE-ROAD — AVENUES OF SYCAMORES — INTRODUCTION OF THE TEAK TREE — ANECDOTE OF A TURKISH OFFICER — MANGO AND PINE-APPLE — FAILURE OF THE COFFEE-TREE IN LOWER EGYPT — CURIOUS METHOD OF TRANSPLANTING LARGE TREES — IMPREGNATION OF THE FEMALE PALM — ANTIQUITY OF THE PRACTICE — PASHA'S REVENUE — MAMALOOK METHOD OF LEVYING TAXES — FEDAN, OR EGYPTIAN ACRE — LANDMARKS — FISCAL REGULATIONS — TYRANNY OF THE MAMALOOK BEYS — IMPOVERISHMENT OF THE FELLAHS — DIMINUTION OF THE FEDAN — ERRORS OF THE PASHA'S FINANCIAL SYSTEM — ANECDOTE OF SALT, THE BRITISH CONSUL-GENERAL — MACCHIAVELLI'S "PRINCE" — BRIEF VOCABULARY OF TYRANNY — UNEQUAL TAXATIONS — MODE OF LEVYING THE LAND-TAX — INIQUITOUS SEIZURE OF PROPERTY — MOULTEZIMS, OR VILLAGE PROPRIETORS — TAX ON THE RIZAKS, OR RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS — CONFISCATION OF THE LANDED PROPERTY THROUGHOUT EGYPT — FEMALE INSURRECTION — MONOPOLY OF CORN, ETC. — OPPRESSIVE TAXES — BRITISH VICE-CONSUL — TAX-GATHERING — A CURIOUS DIALOGUE — COMPARATIVE TABLES OF THE REVENUES OF 1821 AND 1830 — COUNCIL OF ALEXANDRIA — AMOUNT OF THE PASHA'S FORCES — NEGRO SOLDIERS — CHARACTER OF IBRAHIM PASHA.

DCXCI. THE processes of agriculture vary in different provinces. In the southern districts of Upper Egypt, the corn is sown immediately on the retiring of the waters, while the earth is still soft; and, as soon as its moisture is sufficiently exhaled, the land is ploughed, in order to bury the seed. Here, therefore, in all probability, the practice mentioned by Herodotus, and of which we witnessed one example,

prevailed in antiquity, — of casting the wheat on the soft mud, and then driving animals over the field to tread it in. In Lower Egypt, the ground is twice ploughed; the second operation, which takes place after the corn has been sown, serving instead of harrowing. Sowing time, in Lower Egypt, is over by the end of November, and the harvest takes place in May; but in the Saïd, both sowing time and harvest are a month earlier. Sickles, specimens of which have been found among the ruins, were made use of by the ancient Egyptians; but the fellahs pluck up the wheat by the roots. A similar process is observed in the cultivation of barley. Beans, now produced in great quantities throughout Egypt, are sown in October, and gathered in a month earlier than the wheat. Lentils are cultivated in small quantities. *Dhourra sefi*, or "summer dhourra," is sown in March, and reaped in July; upon which the ground is again ploughed lightly, and sown with maize, or *dhourra shâmy*. The chiche pea and the lupine are sown in November, and gathered in March. Rice, the cultivation of which is chiefly, if not wholly, confined to the Delta, is sown in April, and reaped in November. The sugar-cane is cultivated to a great extent in Upper Egypt, more especially in the province of Minieh. Flax, indigo, tobacco, henna, &c.* are also cultivated; but, under

* *Mengin, Histoire de l'Egypte, &c.*, t. ii. pp. 345. 371. — This writer enters into considerable details respecting each particular branch of agriculture; but appears, in most cases, very much to under-rate the productiveness of the soil.

an enlightened government, the produce of Egypt might be greatly varied, improved, and augmented.

DCXCII. In fact, the present government, however barbarous and despotic, is not wholly insensible to the advantages which might be derived from a more scrupulous attention to the arts of husbandry. Ibrahim Pasha, during his campaigns in the Morea, appears to have been struck with the commercial importance of olive plantations; many of which he destroyed. Soon after his return to Egypt, he commenced clearing all that extensive district lying between the tomb of Mohammed Lars, his own Divan, and the Aqueduct, of the prodigious mounds of rubbish, — many of them exceeding seventy feet in height, — which had been accumulating there from the period of the foundation of Cairo. In this useful work seven hundred and fifty carts, each drawn by two oxen, were daily employed, together with a number of excavators, and about two thousand children of both sexes, under the direction of forty or fifty men. The birkets and hollows in the neighbourhood were filled up; and a space of ground of about six square miles, having been thus cleared and levelled, was planted with olive trees, which bore fruit the second year. His grounds at Koobah were laid out in a similar manner; and both plantations now, perhaps, contain one hundred and eighty thousand trees. The produce is pickled and sent to the fleet.

DCXCIII. Ibrahim Pasha is very punctual in the payment of his work-people. The wages of a child are thirty paras per day: excavators, drivers, and overseers, able-bodied men, obtain, upon an average, two piastres, or sixpence, per day. In the gardens of Sheïkh Ibrahim, chief of the Shiah sect at Cairo, are about twelve trees of the cassia fistula, which produce annually three thousand piastres. This fact coming to the knowledge of Ibrahim Pasha, he immediately caused several hundreds of these trees to be planted along the new carriage-road leading in a straight line from the Defterdar Bey's palace at Castel Jubarra to the college of Kasserlyne. This road, not yet quite completed, is about sixty feet broad, and has a footpath on either side. The cassias are planted twenty-five feet apart. In avenues of sycamores the space between the trees is seldom less than forty feet. Among the various species of trees recently introduced into Egypt, the teak is considered by far the most valuable; it being the opinion of Mr. Traile, the English botanist, that it will thrive there as well as in India. About a dozen seeds having been sent as a present to Ibrahim Pasha from Hindoostan, they were sown in the English garden at Rhouda, towards the close of 1829. Three of them took; and in two years one of the specimens had reached the height of nine feet. A Turkish officer, walking in the garden, happening to observe the straightness and beauty of the tree, thought it would make a good *naboot*, and with one stroke of his sabre levelled it with the ground.

Several years ago Mr. Briggs introduced the mango into various parts of Egypt; but the specimen planted at Shoubra is the only one which has survived. This, however, now bears fruit; but his Highness, too impatient to enjoy his new possession, has always plucked it green. An attempt has likewise been made to naturalise the pine-apple: several hundreds were planted at Shoubra and Alexandria; but, through neglect and mismanagement, they have all perished. Ibrahim Pasha's pine-apples have succeeded better in the English garden at Rhouda. The coffee tree has been tried in Lower Egypt, but without success. Several plants have also been sent, as an experiment, into the Saïd; but whether or not the climate will prove more congenial to their growth, is unknown. Those who are engaged in these undertakings appear to be ignorant that, in hot countries, the coffee tree requires to be planted in the shade of trees of more elevated growth, and will not flourish in the sun.* To ensure its growth in the Saïd, therefore, it would be necessary to commence with plantations of sycamore.

DCXCIV. In the agricultural economy of the Arabs there is one very remarkable practice, not noticed, I believe, by any traveller, and which came to my own knowledge altogether by accident. Previous to my voyage up the Nile, I had frequently

* This has been found, by repeated experiments, in the coffee plantations of Yemen and Brazil.

visited and ridden near the Latin convent of Alexandria; a large wealthy establishment, situated a little to the west of the city, in the midst of barren naked sands. On my return, however, in the spring, I observed a large quadrangular space in front of the edifice, surrounded by full-grown date palms. It seemed as if Aladdin had been at work there with his lamp. The branches, all but their extreme points, were carefully tied up in mats, giving the trees the appearance of so many large brooms; small mounds of loose earth had been cast up about the roots: in short, they had been newly transplanted. Upon inquiry, I found the practice had prevailed in Egypt from time immemorial. Digging up the tree with a large quantity of earth about its roots, they transport it on the backs of camels to the new grounds; where it is replanted before the slightest injury has been effected by the removal from the primitive soil. In Hindoostan the largest forest trees were transplanted in full growth, by the agency of elephants, during the flourishing period of the Mogul empire, when arts and luxury were at their height. It is somewhat surprising, therefore, since the practice is known, that the Pasha should refrain from adorning with small groves the naked grounds about his palace on the Cape of Figs; where shade and verdure only are wanting to render his residence delightful.

DCXCV. In Mr. Wallace's gardens, at Alexandria, I beheld the impregnation of the female palm by the introduction of the pollen of the male.

The former tree is said to be infinitely more numerous than the latter, and when they grow together promiscuously in a state of nature, the process of impregnation is carried on by the winds. Owing, probably, to the neglect of the Arabs, there is at present, in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, an insufficiency of male palms; so that they are annually compelled to procure the fertilising dust from Ramleh, or some other distant town. By what signs they discover the precise moment when the fecundation should take place, I know not. Practice, perhaps, and constant study, as in the caprification, or artificial ripening of figs, which has prevailed from time immemorial in the islands of the Archipelago, may teach them to distinguish with nicety the proper season: a stranger, however, perceives no difference in the appearance of the tree; but, if the process be omitted, no fruit, they assert, can be expected that year. I witnessed the operation in the beginning of April. The gardener, with a basket filled with the flowers of the male palm, ascended the tree, by the aid of a hoop passed round the trunk and his own body, as the negroes climb the cocoa palms in the West Indies. Arrived at the top, and having gently opened the female flower, he introduced the inverted flower of the male, and bound them together by soft grassy filaments. The same thing must be done for each racemus, or cluster. Among the Orientals, who, though naturally lewd and licentious, experience the enervating influence of their climates at a very early age, the flower and pollen of the male palm, which

exhale a very peculiar odour, are taken as stimulants.* Though the process of impregnating the female palm, in the manner above described, appears to have prevailed from the remotest antiquity, — being noticed by Theophrastus, — it may, nevertheless, be unnecessary; as nature, no doubt, produced dates previous to this contrivance. It would, perhaps, be sufficient to plant, in every palm grove, a number of male trees, and allow the fecundation to be effected by nature. Perhaps the dates thus produced might be smaller and of an inferior quality; but the love of gain prevents persons from making the experiment.

DCXCVI. Before we attempt to ascertain the amount of the Pasha's revenue, it may, perhaps, be necessary to enter into a few preliminary details. Under the Mamalooks a certain amount of taxes and contributions was annually levied upon each district, or cluster of villages, sometimes at one, sometimes at another season of the year; and if the necessity of the Beys required it, a second collection was made within the year. The fedan, or Egyptian acre was made the basis of these assessments; but no exact admeasurement of the land was effected. In Upper Egypt, where the river not inundating the fields, landmarks are of permanent duration, an an-

* The same practice, as we learn from the curious work of Kœmpfer, prevails in Mesopotamia and Persia. — "Pollis drachmæ unius pondere assumptus, dicitur, ad ciendam libidinem, majorem præstare efficaciam, quàm ipse embryo, quòd vel ex *seminali halitu* conjicias, quem exspirat prægravem." — *Amœnitates Exoticæ*, p. 697.

cient valuation of the fedan was adhered to; but upon the subversion of the authority of the Beys, a more regular system was adopted by Mohammed Ali. Throughout the whole of Egypt the cultivable land was annually, and sometimes twice a year, subjected to an exact measurement; and the taxes, instead of being levied from the district at large, were proportioned to the number of fedans, and collected at the period of the first harvest. Regular Turkish tax-gatherers were likewise appointed, to check the exactions of the Coptic scribes, and village Sheïkhs.

DCXCVII. The fiscal regulations of the Pasha, regular, intelligible, and impartial in their operation, promised to be advantageous to the country; but the general amount of the taxes was considerably augmented. Under the Beys, violence, and sudden tumultuous exactions, were chiefly to be dreaded. An officer, passing through the country at the head of his troop of horse, would, perhaps, demand from the village Sheïkh a score of sheep, a cow, or a buffalo; or turn in his steeds to graze among the corn-fields. To these injuries, insults, perhaps, of of the most unpardonable kind, might be sometimes added: his wife, his daughter, his son, being wrested from his arms, to be reduced to degradation and infamy. From such wrongs they were delivered by Mohammed Ali. But, at the same time, miscalculating the capabilities of the country, and directing his attention rather to the revenue his projects re-

quired, than to the sums which might be drawn from the fellah without reducing him to beggary, his Highness accumulated the burdens of Egypt, impoverishing and oppressing the population whom he defended from capricious and iniquitous exactions. Nevertheless, persons were still found about the court who thought the Arabs were becoming too rich. Accustomed to every species of despotism, the peasants,—who now no longer disguise their dissatisfaction, — feared, indeed, at that period, to describe their real condition; and, if questioned by any of the grandees, would, doubtless, terminate every reply with some loyal exclamation; as, "God recompense him in paradise! God prolong the life and perpetuate the government of our Lord!"

DCXCVIII. The work of impoverishment, however, proceeded. Not content with augmenting the taxes, his Highness, with a disingenuousness unworthy of any government, attempted to mystify the peasants respecting the size of their own fields, by diminishing the dimensions of the fedan; so that the man who formerly owned two hundred acres, now saw himself, by the magical power of the Pasha, in possession of two hundred and ten, for which increase he was of course required to pay in proportion. Excepting during the last year of the Mamalook government, when, being prepared to abandon the country, the Beys extorted by menaces and violence the utmost farthing that could be wrung from the peasants, the fedan had never been assessed at more

than twelve pataks* in the most fertile districts, and from six to eight in the inferior. On the destruction of the Beys, a tax of thirteen or fourteen pataks per fedan was levied throughout the country; except in the neighbourhood of the large towns, where, the land being of greater value, was taxed at the rate of sixteen pataks per fedan. But from the fields round Cairo, and the rice grounds of the Delta, eighteen, and twenty-six pataks per fedan, were respectively levied.

DCXCIX. The principle, however, recognised in this mode of levying the taxes is perfectly just; operating like an income-tax on a properly graduated scale. But, in pursuing his plan into its various ramifications, his Highness exhibited an utter incapacity for inventing and carrying into effect a rational system of finance; though it is not uncommon for persons, ignorant of human nature, to attribute the evil consequences of this incapacity to a malignant delight in oppression. Perhaps the Pasha himself, were he consulted on the point, would prefer the charge of wickedness to that of incompetence; but the question is not, what is most agreeable to Mohammed Ali, but, what is true? Neither do I mean to infer from his failure in this important branch of state-science, a general incapacity, or meanness of intellect,—for I regard the Pasha as a man of genius,—but the entire absence of that knowledge, theoretical and

* The patak, merely a nominal coin, consists of 90 paras; or 2¼ piastres.

practical, which nothing but a political education can bestow. Yet his Highness considers himself a great statesman; and, from an anecdote related to me at Alexandria, it is clear that he still prefers the Oriental style of ruling. Salt, formerly British Consul-General in Egypt, wishing to ingratiate himself with the Pasha, by instructing him more deeply in the arts of tyranny, procured a Turkish translation to be made of Macchiavelli's "Prince," and presented it to his Highness. After allowing the spell a sufficient time to operate, and finding in his various audiences no allusion made to the translation, he one day ventured to introduce the subject, by directly demanding of the Pasha his opinion of Macchiavelli. "My opinion of him," replied Mohammed Ali, "is, that he was a mere babbler. We have, in Turkish, *two words* worth more than his whole book!" At this termination of his courtier-like adventure, Salt was so much confounded, that he omitted to enquire the nature of this brief vocabulary of tyranny; but we may venture to supply the omission with "plunder" and "kill." After all, however, the Pasha's secret opinion of the "Prince" may not be so unfavourable; unless we suppose that the grave irony of the republican writer, unmasking the arts of despotism while pretending to furnish it with arms, may not have escaped Mohammed Ali, though it imposed upon Salt.

DCC. To proceed, however, with the taxes.—No ingenuity was exhibited in the partition of the burden

upon the various members of the body politic, though by this means, as in the case of the human body, almost any weight could have been supported. The greatest pressure fell upon the weak, and ruin, consternation, and famine were the necessary consequences. Little or no attention was paid to the nature of the articles cultivated by the husbandman,—though some are much more productive than others, —or to the quality of the soil, which, in different parts of the valley, exhibits many different degrees of fertility. On the contrary, excepting as regarded the greater or less proximity to the large cities, the country having been duly partitioned into a certain number of fedans, an equal tax was levied on the whole. In this his Highness was only an imitator of the East India Company, who have thus, throughout a large portion of Hindoostan, thrown many millions of acres out of cultivation, the ryots abandoning, of course, all but the best land. But he quickly showed himself more able than his masters; for, while the company, by their injudicious mode of taxing, actually lose the revenue which a more statesmanlike system of finance would produce, he boldly pronounced all the lands of Egypt to be of equal value, and taxed them accordingly. The peasant had still, as in the case of the salt, the liberty of making use of his lands or not, as he pleased; but with the understanding that, under all circumstances, the tax must be paid. In one district of Upper Egypt, several hundred fedans of inferior land were divided among the peasantry, in proportion to their supposed means of cultivating them; and these they

were compelled to till, to sow, to water with great labour and expense, merely for the purpose of paying the land-tax, which frequently consumed nearly the whole produce. In some cases the peasants paid the tax, but left the lands fallow, calculating that the cost of culture would exceed the value of the harvest.

DCCI. By degrees, however, the Pasha proceeded, like Pharaoh in the days of Joseph, to consummate his grand scheme of appropriating the whole land of Egypt to himself. The first step was made by seizing, in the most fertile districts, a number of fields, for which the proprietors were indemnified by the grant of an equal extent of ground elsewhere; and these government possessions were cultivated by corvées. The example of the Pasha was immediately followed by the Mamoors, Kaimakans, and Sheïkhs; who, on a smaller scale, were each ambitious of rivalling their lord. To this succeeded the system of universal monopoly, which has been already described. The revenue of every villages in Egypt had hitherto been divided into twenty-four *kyrats*, or nominal parts, each of which might, in most villages, be purchased by private individuals, either from the Defterdar Bey, acting as principal agent to the Porte, or from the Pasha himself. Persons who thus purchased a portion of the village revenues, were denominated *Moultezims*, or "proprietors;" and they constituted, throughout the country, a very large and respectable class. This purchase, however, included not the

miri, or land-tax, which, in every part of the Turkish empire, is regarded as due to the Sultan; but the miri, amounting, in Egypt, to one hundred and eighteen paras* per fedan, being deducted, the remainder, called *faiz*, — which five or six times exceeded the miri, — became the property of the Moultezims, or of the Pasha.

DCCII. Immediately on the expulsion of the Mamalooks, his Highness appropriated to himself the revenues of all the villages which had belonged to them, or any of their partisans; yet the number of Moultezims not comprised in this prescription was still considerable; but numerous shares of the village revenues belonged to a totally different class of persons. From various passages in classical history, we learn that, among the ancient kings of Persia, it was customary to reward public services, or gratify domestic favourites, by a transfer of the revenue of a town or city, as in the case of Themistocles. Precisely the same is the practice of the Porte which, in token of gratitude or favour, had conferred upon various individuals certain portions of the faiz in Egypt; and these donations of the sovereign had been invariably respected by the most rebellious Beys. Nevertheless, the confusion arising out of the pretensions of so many claimants, offered considerable obstacles to the collection of the revenue. This must be admitted, even by the most prejudiced. Some

* Two piastres and thirty-eight paras.

reform was, therefore, necessary; and, accordingly, Mohammed Ali, desirous of simplifying the operations of government, and pressed, moreover, by the enormous expenses of the Wahabi war, sequestrated all these imperial grants, indemnifying the proprietor by by an annuity from the treasury. For this proceeding, the exactions and tyranny of the Moultezims afforded a sufficient justification; but the claims of all these persons on the faiz were hereditary, whereas their indemnification consisted in a life-annuity, inferior even to the annual income they had hitherto possessed: and it was this that constituted the flagitious injustice of the measure. From this day forward, the rank maintained by each of these families wholly depended on the life of the father; at whose death they descended into obscurity and poverty; while, by the same event, the treasury was delivered from a troublesome claimant.

DCCIII. The disturbed, unhappy state of the country for many centuries furnished the goverment with a new pretence for spoliation. During the wars, insurrections, and forays which had visited every province and district in the land, several proprietors had lost their title-deeds; their rights, however, being well known in the villages, this circumstance had not hitherto been urged in invalidation of their claims. But all persons making application to the treasury were now required to prove their rights; as many as failed being immediately struck off the list of pensioners. It must, however, be observed that, in this

particular instance, the government stood in a very difficult position; since, by admitting the rights of individuals destitute of all legal instruments in substantiation of their claims, a road would have been thrown open to endless imposition. Such of the Moultezims as possessed, in the villages, landed property which they farmed themselves, were, for the present, allowed to retain it, subject to the ordinary taxes. In the meantime heavy contributions were imposed upon each village community, which might be paid in money or corn, the latter to be transported to the warehouses of Rosetta or Alexandria. Preparatory, also, to the grand and daring act of injustice, which, it is evident, his Highness even then contemplated, an office was established expressly for the purpose of receiving the complaints of the fellahs against their landlords; who, ignorant of the snare they were laying for themselves by an ostentatious display of wealth and power, constantly augmented the burdens of their tenantry, to obtain additional means of luxury and extravagance. These, who might be regarded as the Egyptian aristocracy, it was thought necessary to humble; for which purpose the Pasha, like our Henry VII., appeared to favour the rights and interests of the peasantry, while he opposed those of the great.

DCCIV. Another source of revenue was now discovered; which was, a tax of six pataks per fedan on all the rizaks, or pious foundations, existing in Egypt, amounting in the whole, to 665,000 fedans of land. The people, whose religious feelings were outraged

by this measure, exclaimed against its injustice; the Sheïkhs, overwhelmed with reproaches, represented to his Highness that it must involve the ruin of the mosques, schools, cisterns, and other public establishments, supported by the revenues of these lands; but to no purpose; the tax was rigidly enforced. The tameness with which these acts of oppression were submitted to, emboldened the Pasha to proceed still further. Finding the number of these charitable institutions, and the revenues attached to them, to be very considerable, a pretext was sought for converting them into the property of the government. They resembled, to a certain extent, church property in Europe, except that more benefit, perhaps, was derived from them to the public; and consisted of revenues assessed on the villages for the repair of the mosques, tombs, and sacred cities, and for the maintenance of schools, saints, and the families of poor ulemas. The policy of allowing the indefinite increase of a revenue of this kind, in the hands of private individuals, and liable to be perverted to improper purposes, may very justly be doubted. Its amount was enormous, exceeding eight thousand purses in Upper Egypt alone. His Highness, therefore, upon due consideration, determined to appropriate to himself this charitable fund, undertaking, at the same time, to fulfil at the expense of the treasury all the purposes for which the rizaks were instituted.

DCCV. These preliminary steps being taken, the Pasha proceeded, on the first of February, 1814, to

execute his long-projected scheme for reducing every man in Egypt to the rank of a pauper, dependent on his bounty. But he wanted the courage to carry this most odious measure into effect, in person; and, therefore, feigning the necessity for a journey into the Hejaz, he departed from Egypt, leaving the Kihaya Bey to execute, at his own peril, the terrible orders he had received. Accordingly, this officer, with a firmness and intrepidity worthy of a better cause, on the day above mentioned, issued the ordonnance, which was to carry consternation and mourning into every house in Egypt,—declaring all the lands in the country the property of the Pasha. The Sheïkhs, in the utmost terror and consternation, immediately waited on him, remonstrating against the injustice of the measure, which deprived so many families of their estates; but the Kihaya replied, that such were the orders of his master, which he dared not recall. It was, however, agreed that a petition should be drawn up, and forwarded to the Pasha. Observing that their husbands submitted, without a struggle, to be reduced to the most abject condition of slavery, the women, burning with indignation, repaired in great numbers to the mosque of el Azhar, dislodged the students, and accused the Sheïkhs of pusillanimity and cowardice. Late in the evening, however, they were prevailed upon, by evasive promises, to return to their homes. This female tumult being regarded by the Kihaya Bey as the fore-runner of a general insurrection, the Sheïkhs, suspected of fomenting the disturbance, were convoked, and over-

awed by indistinct menaces: the petition they had drawn up, instead of being despatched to the prince, was deposited in the archives of the city; one of their number, accused of dissipating the fortune of his wife, was condemned to death, and executed; and thus the whole land of Egypt passed into the hands of Mohammed 'Ali with the loss of one single life.

DCCVI. The existence and nature of his Highness's monopolies of trade have already been spoken of. In addition to these he now proceeded to monopolise every production of the soil, every article forming the ordinary food of the inhabitants; so that an artificial scarcity is maintained, by which the expenditure of every individual in the country has been augmented three or four-fold. Wheat is purchased by the government, in Upper Egypt, at twenty-five piastres per ardeb, and re-sold at Cairo at one hundred and twenty. Beans, one of the principal articles of food among the poor, are bought up, and doled out to the people at the same enormous rate of profit. The prices of beef, mutton, fish, &c. have been increased in proportion. A novel property tax-called *furdé*, has likewise been imposed, by which every man in Egypt is compelled to contribute according to his supposed capacity of bearing the burden. The amount of the sum thus produced it would be difficult to ascertain; but it must be very considerable, since every menial servant; every person living on fixed annual wages; every artizan, whether European or native, in the service of the government; every

public officer or employé, pays annually the amount of one month's stipend. Precisely the same rule is observed in the house tax, called *salyan;* by which the proprietor is compelled to pay annually one month's rent, whether the house be occupied or not. At the time of the general spoliation of 1814, the lands in the vicinity of the large towns were left in the possession of their proprietors; but the taxes have been at length increased to such an amount, that they now exceed the value of the produce. An anecdote related to me at Alexandria will illustrate this position. Michael Surur, British Vice-Consul at Damietta, inherited an extensive date plantation, producing a considerable income; but, by the constantly increasing exactions of the Pasha, this property has been, for several years, rendered of no value to its possessor. He has, therefore, annually petitioned for permission to root up the trees, or that his Highness would be pleased to accept of the fruit, instead of the taxes; but hitherto without effect. All the villages in Egypt are answerable for the payment of the taxes *in solido;* i. e. if one individual be idle or extravagant, his debt towards government must be discharged by his more industrious and economical neighbour.

DCCVII. In illustration of the above historical sketch, and as a faithful picture of the present condition of the villagers, I insert the following brief narrative and dialogue given me by a native:—At Asser, says he, we fastened our boat close to the

village of Ulbeit; where I landed with my kawass to obtain a supply of bread and milk. The inhabitants, however, if we might credit their stories, far from being able to comply with our demands, absolutely had themselves nothing to eat. Suspecting that this affectation of poverty arose from the fear they would not be paid for what we might consume, I directed my steps to the Sheïkh's house, being guided thither by the cries of his people, *laid under the stick.* We found him seated at his door upon a straw mat, with the Turkish tax-gatherer on his right hand; on his left stood his Kiateb, and two dozen fellahs, men and boys, armed with naboots, who acted as his body-guard. Being in the Turkish costume, attended by a silver stick, and equipped with a double-barrelled gun, I resolved to try the effect of certain airs which, in my intercourse with the Turks, I had learned to assume with singular dexterity. Accordingly approaching this august assembly, I sat down, calling for my pipe, and saluting the Sheïkh in Turkish, with the, "Aksham heir;" "nassal seu?" "keifinis eï mi?" "ne yapayorsoon?" (viz. Good evening; how are you? are you in health? what are you doing?) to which he replied; "Very well, thank God." "Welcome, are you well? are you well?" at the same time placing his hand upon his heart, and carrying it to his lips and forehead, each time I answered. I then saluted the Turk; but, in imitation of their own insolent demeanour, first demanded in a loud voice who he was. My kawass who knew him, answered, that "he belonged to the Khasné, and was

levying tribute in the villages on this side Menouffieh." On receiving this intelligence, I turned towards him with an air of peculiar condescension, saying, "Pek eï, pek ei," and at the same time requested the Skeïkh to send immediately for bread and milk sufficient for twelve people. This order he transmitted to his chief man, who despatched four or five servants, with as many "Yallahs," and blows of his clubstick, to procure the things we demanded. They soon returned, bringing a large quantity of cow's milk and several loaves of fresh bread, in return for which I gave them a four-piastre piece. The Sheïkh, however, refused all remuneration, complimenting me by saying I was a government officer, and therefore fully entitled to refreshment free of cost. I then bade the men keep the money as a present, at the same time telling the Turk, that if they were in arrears with the Khasné, they were now in a condition to pay a portion of the debt. On the strength of my liberality, I felt disposed to assume still further importance, asking many questions, which, together with the answers, to the best of my recollection, were as follows.

DCCVIII. *Question.* What is the name of this beautiful village?

Answer. Ulbeit—Ulbeit—(*from several voices*).

Q. My father, how many inhabitants are there here?

A. About two thousand five hundred.

Q. Before the great "Kubbé" (plague), about two years ago, how many people had you?

A. More than six thousand.

Q. Do your people cultivate as many fedans at present as they then did?

A. (*Kiateb and Sheïkh.*) Yes, yes, my son.

Q. Have you the same number of Sakias as formerly?

A. We have very few. God is great and merciful. God!

Q. (*To the Turk.*) What do these men pay to the Effendini? May God preserve his beard, and make his face bright!

A. Janum (my soul)! in the Tefder it is written, this village should pay 2500 piastres a month in money, and 4000 piastres in goods; but at present we are unable to collect more than three purses and a half in money, and about four or five purses in produce. May God bring confusion on their heads!

Q. What is the reason of this deficiency?

A. Who knows? See, the people are idle.

Q. (*To the Sheïkh.*) Do your people eat meat and honey, my father?

A. Oh, my son! we are content with dhourra-bread and a little milk.

Q. But you recollect, do you not, when Ulbeit possessed kine, sheep, goats, plenty of money, and good clothes of many colours?

A. Yes, my dear son! and you see to what we are now reduced. There is no butcher in the place; and we have only a very few goats, kine, and buffaloes.

Q. (*To the Turk.*) Has this place sent many young men to the Nizam?—At the mention of the word "Nizam," several poor little children, who were peeping at us around the corners of the lanes and from the house-tops, ran away in great terror.

A. I believe a great many. God is God!

Q. Are they fond of military service?

A. They are Fellahs. What would you ask?

You see now, father, how clever our Effendini is. He has taken away most of the young men, leaving only a few to cultivate the same number of fedans as before. You have eaten up or sold the cattle which formerly belonged to so many Sakias; still your wealth is augmented, because the money is divided among a less number of people. God is merciful! Let us give praise unto God, for he makes the Nile to produce corn, and all things in great abundance and with little labour!

Amen! Amen! resounded from all sides.

DCCIX. The amount of the revenues of Egypt it is exceedingly difficult to ascertain with precision; some persons, who, from their position, ought to be well instructed on the point, estimating them at seven millions sterling, and others, equally well instructed, at not more than four millions. All the calculations I have been enabled to make are favourable to the latter estimate. I subjoin a comparative Table, (which must, however, be regarded as imperfect,) of the revenues collected in 1821 and 1830; the former based on the calculations of Mengin, the latter on a letter from Alexandria.

State of the REVENUES OF EGYPT

Amount of the Land Tax
Capitation Tax
Duty upon certain articles regulated by an administration called the *little khazneh*, the details of which are as follows: —
- Cotton
- Wax
- Sugar
- Flax
- Indigo
- Honey
- Henna
- Rose-water
- Linseed
- Sesame
- Saffron
- Selgam and Lettuce seed

N.B.—The above articles are purchased of the Fellahs, who are required to deliver them at the Government warehouses.

Duty on the Sale of Silks and Muslins
——— Corn
——— Rice
——— Date Trees
——— Hides
Custom-house Duties at Damiatta and Boolak
Monopoly of Salt and Liquors, and Duty upon Boats, and on Fish
Produce of the Customs at Suez and Kosseir
Nett Receipts of the Mint
Tolls of Upper and Lower Egypt
Custom-house Duties at Alexandria
Duty on Oil
——— the Sale of Mats
——— Potash at Alexandria
Produce of the Fishery in Lake Menzaleh
——— Tax called Karatch
Monopoly of refining Silver and manufacturing Gold Lace
Duty on Corn brought into Cairo
——— Natron
——— the Ferry Boats upon the Nile
——— Okellas* and Bazārs of Upper Egypt
Produce of the Customs of the Canal Mahmoodyiah
——— Old Cairo
Amount derived from farming out Lake Mœris and the Canal of Joseph
Duty on Gold Thread
——— Inheritances
Monopoly of the Supply of Meat
Duty on the Liquors of Upper Egypt
——— Dancers, Jugglers, and public Amusements
——— Sal Ammoniac

* Caravanserais.

during the Years 1821 and 1830.

1821.					1830.			
Purses of 500 Piastres each.	Piastres.	£	s.	d.	Purses of 500 Piastres each.	£	s.	d.
132,308	381	1,102,573	0	4	225,000	1,406,250	0	0
- -	-	- -	-		70,000	437,500	0	0
21,000		175,000	0	0	65,000	406,250	0	0
21,000		175,000	0	0	18,000	112,500	0	0
13,714	250	114,287	10	0	36,000	225,000	0	0
10,000		83,333	6	8	11,400	71,250	0	0
8,000		66,666	13	4	7,000	43,750	0	0
6,600		55,000	0	0	7,353	45,956	5	0
5,750		46,250	0	0	6,271	39,193	0	0
5,018		66,816	13	4	4,000	25,000	0	0
3,500		29,166	13	4	12,000	75,000	0	0
- -	-	- -	-		2,000	72,500	0	0
2,500		20,833	6	8	6,000	37,500	0	0
- -	-	- -	-		2,500	15,625	0	0
1,200		10,000	0	0	800	5,000	0	0
900		7,500	0	0	300	1,875	0	0
800		6,666	13	4				
800		6,666	13	4	800	5,000	0	0
750		6,250	0	0	950	5,937	10	0
720		6,000	0	0	4,000	25,000	0	0
600		5,000	0	0	500	3,125	0	0
600		5,000	0	0				
600		5,000	0	0	400	2,500	0	0
500		4,166	13	4				
500		4,166	13	4	2,500	15,625	0	0
- -	-	- -	-		500	3,125	0	0
450		3,750	0	0	500	3,125	0	0
400		3,333	6	6	1,200	7,500	0	0
370		3,183	16	8	2,000	12,500	0	0
350		2,816	13	4				
300		2,500	0	0	4,500	28,125	0	0
280		2,333	6	8	1,000	6,250	0	0
239,511	131	2,019,360	10	2	497,974	3,112,330	15	0

REVENUES OF

Brought over	
Custom-house Duties of Siout on Merchandise brought by the Slave Merchants of Darfour	
Custom-house Duties of Derâouy on ditto, by the Slave Merchants of Sennaar	
Duty on Merchandise brought overland from Syria	
Monopoly of Senna	
Duty on the Sale of Cattle at Embâbeh and the Place de Roumeyleh	

EXPENDITURE for the

Pay of the regular Troops	
Salaries of the great Officers of State, Heads of Departments, Expenses of the Pasha's Palace, Harems, &c.	
Budget of the Marine	
Pay of Turkish Cavalry and Infantry	
Salaries of Civil Servants and Secretaries of Departments	
Disbursements for public Works, viz. Palaces, Bridges, Factories, &c.	
Cost of Articles imported from Europe by the Pasha, for the Use of his Manufactories	
Pay of Bedouin Troops	
Embassies to Constantinople at different Periods	
Expenses of building Ships of War	
Presents to the Sheïkhs of Villages, to Arabs, Uniforms of the Ichaghasis, and other Court Officers, at the Period of the Rhamadân and Bairam	
Pensions granted to the Moultezims (Proprietors)	
——— various Harems	
Extraordinary Expenses, Presents, &c.	
Pensions granted to Sheïkhs, Maintenance of Mosques, Schools, and public Cisterns, as a Compensation for the Rizaks, Military College, Printing Establishment, &c.	
Expenses of the Caravan of Pilgrims, Maintenance of the Mosques of Medina and Mekka	
Expenses of the Wady Toumlât, for the Plantation of Mulberry Trees, and Manufacture of Silk	
Compensation for Rents formerly enjoyed by the Moultezims	
Expenses of the Kissoueh	

	£	s.	d.
Total Revenue for the Year 1830	3,118,950	15	0
Disbursements	2,661,187	10	0
Excess of Revenue above Expenditure	£457,763	5	0

EGYPT — *continued.*

1821.				1830.			
Purses. Piastres.	£	s.	d.	Purses.	£	s.	d.
239,511 131	2,019,360	10	2	497,974	3,112,330	15	0
260	2,166	13	4	60	375	0	0
200	1,666	13	4	300	1,875	0	0
-	-	-	-	200	1,250	0	0
120	1,000	0	0	260	2,625	0	0
50	416	13	4				
240,141 131	2,024,610	10	2	498,794	3,118,950	15	0

Years 1821 and 1830.

1821.				1830.			
Purses.	£	s.	d.	Purses.	£	s.	d.
100,000	888,888	6	8	120,000	750,000	0	0
24,000	200,000	0	0	68,000	425,000	0	0
- -	- -		-	60,000	375,000	0	0
- -	- -			45,000	281,750	0	0
16,000	133,333	6	8	38,000	237,500	0	0
15,000	125,000	0	0	18,000	112,500	0	0
- -	- -			17,460	109,125	0	0
- -	- -		-	15,000	93,750	0	0
12,000	100,000	0	0	12,000	75,000	0	0
- -	- -		-	10,500	65,625	0	0
10,000	83,333	6	8				
6,000	50,000	0	0	3,500	21,875	0	0
- -	- -		-	6,000	37,500	0	0
- -	- -		-	2,500	15,625	0	0
1,800	15,000	0	0	4,350	27,187	10	0
1,700	14,166	13	4	2,200	13,750	0	0
1,400	11,666	13	4				
1,200	10,000	0	0				
300	2,500	0	0				
189,400	1,633,887	6	8	421,970	2,661,187	10	0

DCCX. Having introduced the completest statement I have been enabled to procure of the revenues of the Pasha, I shall here subjoin an account of his Councils, and forces, military and naval. There are two Councils, one at Cairo, the other at Alexandria. Of the former, Hajjî Ibrahim Effendi, formerly Divan Effendi, is President; but as this institution differs in nothing, excepting the name of its members, from that of Alexandria, I shall confine myself to the constitution of the latter. The Council of Alexandria (*Mejlis el Mashwarah*) is composed of the officers of government — the administrators and sub-administrators, — under the presidency of Moharem Bey, Governor of the city. They are understood to take cognizance of the affairs of the different departments of government; receive all requisitions; and, like our Commissariat, treat with merchants for supplies for the army and navy. Though supposed to be constituted on an European model, this Council is extremely imperfect in its formation, and still more imperfect in its mode of transacting business. In the first place, all its members are wanting in the requisite knowledge. The principal object of the institution was to create emulation among the various members of government; but this has been by no means accomplished. For as, in the decision of numerous questions respecting their various departments, they are mutually each other's judges, one man is careful not to judge his neighbour too harshly to-day, lest he should mete forth to him the same measure on the morrow. In short, they are very tender of abuses; and therefore, though intended

as a check on the officers in the several branches of government, — that is, on themselves, — they have hitherto entirely defeated his Highness's intentions. This result may be partly attributed to the original imperfection in the constitution of the Council; for, the responsibility being divided between so great a number of persons, they are the less careful in their investigations. Still, the Pasha has generally abstained from openly interfering with their decisions, unless when they are forcibly appealed against, or carry absurdity on the face of them. They meet — or ought to meet — every night, at the town house of Moharem Bey; and persons having business to transact are admitted during their deliberations. Pipes are strictly prohibited by the Pasha, — who was apprehensive they might otherwise convert his Council into a smoking party, — nevertheless, they consume much time in trifling matters, and transact very little business. The appearance of the Council is unique: assembling after dark in a spacious matted apartment, the President takes his station on the divan, at the upper end of the room, while the inferior Areopagites seat themselves on their hams, in a double line extending the whole length of the chamber, with lanterns before them. In this uneasy posture, like so many frogs in a pantomime, they deliberate on the welfare of Egypt. When they are not speaking all together, the Vice-president constitutes himself the mouth of the assembly, while a single secretary fulfils the duties of reporter. Several other Councils, — as the War Council, the Council of Police, &c. — have been instituted; but, being only so many shadows, per-

fectly destitute of lead or authority in the State, they are unworthy of all consideration. The upper and lower houses of Parliament, of which so much has been said in Europe, entirely escaped my researches. Neither has the punishment of death been abolished, as has been frequently stated;—an Arab was executed at Alexandria a few days before my departure;—but it may be said with truth that, in general, the Pasha, whose will is the only law in Egypt, is not sanguinary in his punishments.

DCCXI. Upon the constitution of the Egyptian army it is unnecessary to enter into many details, since we shall insert the official statement furnished by his Highness himself. It may, however, be remarked that, in this recapitulation of his forces, we discover numerous corps of what Demosthenes used facetiously to denominate "paper armies," which, being easily raised and maintained, make a distinguished figure in the majority of royal bulletins. Besides, all civil servants, all manufacturers of cotton and sugar,—with their servants of every rank,—all couriers, telegraph-workers, cooks, bakers, &c. in the most remote degree connected with the government, the army, or the navy, have been pressed into the list, where they look as warlike as the same number of Bedouins. Deducting all these supplemental soldiers, his Highness's effective forces, by sea and land, including the Bedouins at his disposal, will, perhaps, be found to amount to about one hundred and twenty thousand men. But this, considering the resources of the country, is a large army; much

too large to be permanently maintained. In Egypt, as I have already remarked on several occasions, the population is inadequate to supply the fields with labourers, and the cities with artisans. Every man, therefore, removed from the exercise of rural industry to the army or fleet, must cause a proportionate impoverishment of Egypt, and deficit in the Pasha's revenue.

DCCXII. Of this truth, however, Mohammed Ali is himself convinced; for, when he commenced the organisation of the new troops, aware of the scantiness of the original Arab population, he attempted to supply the deficiencies in his armies with black slaves from Kordofan, Sennaar, and other countries of the interior, partly purchased from Tripoli, partly from the slave dealers at Cairo. But the physical constitution of these Negroes was soon found incapable of resisting the effects of the climate. When Ibrahim Pasha undertook the expedition to the Morea, he was accompanied by six or eight hundred black soldiers, whom he intended to constitute his body guard; but, although no epidemic prevailed in the army, the greater number of them died during the voyage. It is supposed, however, that Mohammed Ali's principal reason for invading and conquering the black countries was to convert them into a nursery for soldiers; and that afterwards, though disappointed in this view, he retained all those useless provinces to swell the extent of his dominions. When the Pasha saw that the negroes would not live in Egypt, or any of the more northern climates, no alternative was left

him but to submit unconditionally to the Porte, or to take the fellahs from the plough, to defend the independence of their country. The plan recommended by Mengin * of keeping up the population of Egypt by importations of blacks has accordingly proved unsuccessful. Even the animals from the interior — such, for example, as the giraffe, — are unable to endure an Egyptian winter. Nothing now remains, therefore, but to favour, by a wise and mild administration, the increase of the indigenous race; and to encourage, by rewards and honours, the immigration of warlike adventurers from the overpeopled kingdoms of the north.

DCCXIII. Of the commander-in-chief by whom the energies of the Pasha's vast military armaments are directed, I have already spoken, in treating of the affairs of his harem; but, previous to detailing his achievements in Syria, I shall add a few remarks on his public character. In the earlier part of his life, Ibrahim Pasha acquired much celebrity by his wars in the Hejaz; but it was still the celebrity of an ordinary Turkish general. His character and genius were not properly developed until the Greek war brought him in contact with Europeans, and taught him to view with satisfaction the innovations of his father, which he had at first regarded with something more, perhaps, than indifference. From that period the temper and disposition of his mind appear to have undergone a complete change. He now learned properly to estimate the value of European civilis-

* *Histoire de l'Egypte, &c.* pt. ii. p. 320.

ation, which, he clearly saw, includes the elements of political and military power; and the reflections arising out of this conviction have had a great effect in softening and ameliorating his character. Those who have lived much in his society represent him as a man of acute observation; and so stern and uncompromising in his actions, that his orders produce more effect on the apathy of the Turks even than those of the Pasha himself. As a general, he is said to be distinguished by that great excellence, the possession of a quick military eye. His decisions are promptly formed, and executed with impetuosity; and, on occasions of great emergency, being totally regardless of personal danger, he himself sometimes leads an attack. He has been accused, perhaps justly, of committing great ravages in the Morea; and the European admirals, who commanded at the battle of Navarino, reproach him, moreover, with bad faith. But this, notwithstanding the eulogiums of Lord Strangford, is a defect nearly general among the Turks, who regard duplicity and prevarication in the light of political virtues. Perhaps, however, Ibrahim had still, at that time, to learn the value of honesty and candour in treating with civilised nations. In person he is about the middle size, and of rather ordinary countenance; but he has the quick penetrating eye of the Pasha, with a more stern and forbidding aspect. Possessing an energetic mind and an active body, though somewhat inclined to corpulence, he requires much exercise; and therefore never enjoys so high a state of health as during his military campaigns.

LIST OF THE

Stations of the Troops.	Mog-grebyns.	Bedouins.	Franks.	Hawara: Irregular Cavalry.	Sailors.
Mekka and the Hejaz -	177	668	—	700	—
Egypt - -	—	—	15	700	—
The Black Countries -	—	604	—	484	—
Island of Candia - -	—	—	—	—	—
Army of Asia - -	34	4,098	—	1,551	—
Workmen in the Arsenal of Alexandria - -	—	—	—	—	8,358
NAVAL FORCE.					
Mirmiran (Admiral) - 1					
Mirleen (Vice-Admiral) 1					
Miralai (Colonel) - 1					
Lieutenant-Colonels - 4					
Majors - - - 13					
Aids-de-Camp - 30					
Captains and Officers 735					
785					
Sailors - - 16,000					
16,785	—	—	—	—	16,785
	211	5,370	15	3,435	25,143

PASHA'S FORCES.

Artillery Corps.	Baltagies: Sappers and Miners.	Regular Cavalry.	Regular Infantry.	Total of Soldiers.	Total of Soldiers and Sailors.	Generals, Officers, Employés of all Kinds, and their Attendants.	Grand Totals.
—	101	—	6,870	6,971	6,971	4,707	13,223
4,102	2,989	2,670	17,437	27,198	27,198	25,598	53,011
—	—	—	5,157	5,157	5,157	1,215	7,460
—	—	—	5,004	5,004	5,004	3,159	8,163
2,258	852	5,292	35,542	43,942	43,942	33,519	82,944
—	—	—	—	—	8,358	—	8,358
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	16,785
6,357	3,942	7,962	70,011	83,272	113,415	67,988	190,444
In the different Military Schools: —							
In the Staff, and at Kasserlyne - -						- 1,526	
In the Military and Naval Schools of Alexandria						- 1,250	
Sub-administrators - - - -						- 300	
Translators, Clerks, &c. - - -						- 412	
						3,488	3,488
							193,932

PASHA'S NAVY.

	Guns.	Men.	Commanders.
1. Masr - - -	138	1,500	Besson.
2. Acre - - -	138	1,500	Hassan.
3. Mahallet-el-Kebir - -	100	1,200	Houssard.
4. Mansourah - - -	100	1,200	Prissick.
5. Alexandria - -	96	1,200	Mahmood.
6. Aboukir - - -	90	1,100	Latif.
7. Jaffaria - - -	62	600	Ahmed.
8. Bahirah - - -	60	550	Karadooni.
9. Rashid - - -	58	500	Selim.
10. Kafr-el-Sheïkh - -	58	500	——
11. Sheergehat - -	54	450	Mohammed.
12. Damietta - -	50	450	——
13. Mufti Gehat - -	48	450	Hemmins.
14. Tantah - - -	24	300	——
15. Pelenga Gehat - -	22	—	——
16. Psyche - - -	22	—	——
17. Fouah - - -	20	250	——
18. Genah Baharia - -	20	—	——
19. Cervelli - -	20	—	——
20. Satalia - - -	20	200	——
21. Washington - -	18	—	——
22. Semuda Gehat - -	18	—	——
23. Timsah - -	13	—	——
	1,249	11,950	
6 other Brigs from 12 to 10 Guns - -	66	1,200	
3 Ships,—Baylan, Hamah, Koniah, each 100 Guns, building - -	300	3,600	
32	1,615	16,750	

CHAPTER XXI.

CHARACTER, POWER, AND RESOURCES OF MOHAMMED ALI — TURKISH CONTEMPT OF THE ARABS — ANECDOTE — FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE SULTAN AND PASHA — REVENGEFUL DESIGNS OF THE PORTE — JANISSARIES — MENACES OF THE SULTAN — MOHAMMED ALI'S RESOLUTION OF SEIZING ST. JEAN D'ACRE — QUARREL WITH THE PASHA OF SAIDA — INSURRECTION IN BOSNIA — RECALL OF THE TURKISH FLEET — INVASION OF SYRIA — RECEPTION OF THE TURKISH ENVOY AT ALEXANDRIA — EFFORTS OF THE SULTAN TO ENGAGE THE EUROPEAN STATES IN HIS QUARREL — PASHA'S ATTEMPTS TO STIR UP ROUMELIA AND ALBANIA — ORDERED TO RAISE THE SIEGE OF ST. JEAN D'ACRE — DEMANDS SAIDA AND DAMASCUS — ATTACKS OSMAN PASHA — DECLARED A REBEL AND TRAITOR — PANIC AND DISPERSION OF THE TURKISH FORCES — DEFEAT OF THE TURKS AT ZERA — INSURRECTION AT CAIRO — SANGUINARY EXECUTIONS — ASSAULT AND SURRENDER OF ST. JEAN D'ACRE — NARRATIVE OF AN EYE-WITNESS — EXCESSES OF THE VICTORIOUS ARMY — SURRENDER OF DAMASCUS — BATTLE OF HOMS — ANECDOTE OF THE EGYPTIAN GENERAL — SURRENDER OF ALEPPO — DEFEAT OF HUSSEIN PASHA — SURRENDER OF ANTIOCH — OCCUPATION OF SKANDEROON — ANECDOTE — MILITARY SEVERITY — REJOICINGS AT CAIRO — IBRAHIM ARRIVES AT ADANA — DEFEAT OF THE TURKS IN THE DEFILES OF MOUNT TAURUS — PETITION OF THE INHABITANTS OF KASTAMUNI — OPPRESSION OF THE TURKISH GOVERNORS — DISUNION IN THE IMPERIAL DIVAN — DEFEAT OF THE TURKS AT KONIAH — IBRAHIM MARCHES UPON CONSTANTINOPLE.

DCCXIV. SINCE nothing, perhaps, could give a more just idea of the character, power, and resources of Mohammed Ali than a history of the recent Syrian war, which, crowded with remarkable events and sanguinary battles, terminated in the complete triumph of the Egyptian arms, a concise recapitulation of

its principal circumstances appears to belong, in some measure, to the subject of this work. For, in endeavouring to make known the character of the Egyptians, and of the extraordinary man by whom their destiny is at present regulated, it seemed necessary to follow them into action, and observe how those peasants, whom I saw tamely submit to despotism at home, would behave in the field, when trained by discipline, and brought face to face with their ancient hereditary oppressors. Nothing could exceed the contumely and scorn with which the Turk, previous to this war, regarded the Arab cultivator, who, like the Penest of Thessaly, or the Periœcus of Crete, was looked upon as a servile rustic, born slavishly to till the soil of his master. An anecdote will illustrate this. An envoy from the Porte, on arriving at Alexandria some time before the war in Syria, was received with affability and distinction by the Pasha, who, in order to impress on his mind a high idea of the power and resources of Egypt, showed him his palace, forts, arsenal, and fleet. When he had beheld the whole, the envoy coldly observed,— "Your Highness, I see, is blessed with many excellent possessions: but *one thing* you want." "And what," demanded the Pasha, "is that one thing?" "*An army:* for what are Arabs? Look at our Turks; have you any soldiers like them?" "Your Excellency is entirely mistaken," replied Mohammed Ali, with earnestness: "my Arabs are excellent soldiers; and when the day arrives to put the matter to the test, *you shall see!*"

DCCXV. Shortly after the conclusion of the Greek war, it became evident that the friendly understanding between the Sultan and the Pasha was a mask, which concealed jealousy on the one hand, and apprehension of vengeance on the other. The conduct of Mohammed Ali, in evacuating Greece at the desire of the Allies, had left a sting in the mind of Mahmood; as it betrayed a disposition to set at nought his authority, and diminish his dignity in the estimation of foreign powers, by disclosing the circumstance that the actions of the greatest vassal of the empire were beyond his control. He was still further exasperated by the Pasha's attempt at dissuading him from the war with Russia; and, when it had been entered into, by his withholding the aid which he was expected to furnish. Mahmood, therefore, if he deferred the moment of revenge, still cherished the design. Elated by his success in the destruction of the Janissaries, and the flattering prospect which this event seemed to unfold before him, he is said to have let fall certain menacing expressions which were not unknown at Alexandria. Thus the question was merely one of time, and who should strike the first blow; and the Pasha, seizing upon a favourable moment, determined, upon calculation, to brave the odium of being the aggressor, by possessing himself of the fortress of St. Jean d'Acre, the key to Egypt on the land side, and the first step towards the conquest of Syria.

DCCXVI. For this proceeding, fortune afforded him a plausible pretext. A quarrel had arisen be-

tween Mohammed Ali and Abdallah, Pasha of Saida, concerning, as has been pretended, certain sums of money due by the latter to the former, and certain Arab fugitives, who, having been guilty, perhaps, of grievous delinquencies, had taken refuge in the Pashalik of Abdallah, and obtained his protection. Their differences had been repeatedly submitted to the Sultan, who, though he might have judged between them, was conscious of his inability to enforce his decisions; his armaments, having, on a former occasion, been beaten from before the fortress of St. Jean d'Acre, in which Abdallah had shut himself up, and where the Turks had exhibited an eminent proof of their deficiency in military science, and the means of conducting a siege. The Pasha, emboldened by the insurrection in Bosnia, and the troubles which he is accused of having fomented in other parts of the empire, now threatened, unless justice were done him in a regular manner, to have recourse to arms, and, by marching upon Acre, to inflict condign chastisement on Abdallah. This produced the desired effect at Constantinople. To avoid the dilemma in which such a proceeding would have placed him, and also in some degree to control the movements of his dangerous vassal, the Sultan, fully occupied in suppressing rebellions in the European provinces, appeared to coincide with his views, and sent out the Captain Pasha with a fleet, apparently to act in concert with him. But when the various measures for securing the object of the campaign were arranged, and the fleet had already arrived at Rhodes, news of

the suppression of the insurrection in Bosnia, — which afterwards proved to be unfounded, — relieved the Sultan from his panic. He therefore set the Pasha at defiance, and recalled his fleet.

DCCXVII. Immediately upon this, though the year was drawing near its close, and the season most unfavourable for such an undertaking, the Pasha pushed forward all necessary preparations for the expedition; and, to the dismay of Mahmood, Ibrahim had already disembarked in Syria, before the imperial messenger, despatched from Constantinople with orders to suspend operations, could arrive at Alexandria. Thus the war, which was to terminate in the dismemberment of the empire, and the humiliation of the Sultan, was commenced under the imperial auspices; as Ibrahim actually sailed from Egypt with Mahmood's firman in his possession. Such, at least, is the statement of Mohammed Ali. A different version of the facts is given by the Sultan, who, ashamed, perhaps, at having been so palpably over-reached, denied in the sequel the authenticity of this firman, which, he insisted, had been forged. But his conduct throughout the war savoured so strongly of passion, and a disposition to blacken his adversary, that, whatever was the nature of his cause, it cast over it an air of injustice; since none but the wicked and tyrannical poison their pleadings with invective and calumny.

DCCXVIII. When the Sultan's envoy arrived at Alexandria, he was received in the usual style of courtesy. Mohammed Ali, who is a master of dissimulation, affected the utmost deference for the imperial orders; but observed that the expedition had sailed, that operations had commenced, and that, if his excellency would wait, he should shortly bear back to his sovereign the keys of Acre. On this occasion, however, the ambassador was an able man, to deceive whom was impracticable. He at once pushed aside the flimsy veil of hypocrisy, and coming to the real point, demanded what it was that the Pasha desired from the Porte. "To keep what I have," he replied; "and let me explain to you my policy and my views, in a few words. In a few days Acre will be mine. If the Sultan consent that I shall keep it, I will stop there; if not, I will take Damascus. There, again, if Damascus be granted me, I will stop; but if not, I will take Aleppo: and if the Sultan will not then consent—who knows?—*Allah kerīm!*—'God is merciful.'" The Turk in a moment saw the character of the man with whom his sovereign had to deal; and returning to Constantinople, counselled Mahmood to grant the Pasha whatever he required, and make peace; "for," said he, "you have to contend with a man of sense and talent, who understands his position." At this honest and upright conduct, however, the Sultan was grievously offended, and, pretending that the ambassador had been corrupted by bribery, cast him into prison.

DCCXIX. It was now evident that the sword alone could decide between them. But this was an event which Mahmood had by no means anticipated; and he had consequently to begin his preparations for war with the Pasha, while the latter was, in fact, conquering Syria. Among other circumstances which show the extreme weakness of the Porte at the commencement of the campaign, it may be remarked, that during the continuance of the siege of Acre, — little short of six months, — it was unable to throw a single soldier or article of provisions into the place. Mohammed Ali, well acquainted with the resources of his enemy, is said not to have pushed on the siege with vigour, from the hope that the fortress would shortly surrender in despair, and thus save the lives of his Arab soldiers, valuable in proportion as they were few, and whom, being his chief reliance, he could ill spare. Besides, the principal engineer at first employed, was an incompetent person, whose incapacity having been discovered, other engineers were sent out from Egypt.

DCCXX. But if Mahmood was deficient in military resources, he could not be accused of remissness in the employment of such arms as were in his power. He laboured by energetic representations to engage in his quarrel all those European nations then at peace with Turkey, skilfully enumerating the demerits and ambitious designs of the Pasha, and even condescending, perhaps imprudently, to allude sarcastically to his age and obscure origin. It was

evident that the Sultan, having beheld with uneasiness his successful expeditions in Arabia, Kordofan, and Sennaar, had long entertained the intention of removing him. Many of the accusations brought against him by the Sultan were probably well founded. He was charged with having, during the preceding year, fomented rebellion in Roumelia and Albania, and urged Mustapha, Pasha of Scodra, into revolt, by letters containing offers of money, soldiers, and munitions of war, which had miscarried, and fallen into the hands of the Porte. To the failure of similar attempts to corrupt his loyalty, was traced his supposed animosity against Abdallah Pasha, governor of Saida, whom he was now investing, by sea and land, in the fortress of St. Jean d'Acre. The Porte, it was added, apprised of these proceedings, had commanded him, in repeated despatches, to raise the siege, and retire into Egypt, under pain of its severest displeasure: but to these he had returned evasive replies, still persisting in his rebellious undertaking. Nor was this all; presuming upon his own power, and the weakness of the Sultan, he had even ventured to betray his plans of self-aggrandisement, by making a formal demand of the Pashaliks of Saida and Damascus. It now, therefore, became necessary, since amicable notifications had proved of no avail, to oppose force with force; and sea and land armaments (Mahmood continued), had already been put in motion towards Syria. In the meanwhile, Mohammed Ali, anticipating the movements of the Sultan, had attacked Osman Pasha, Beglerbeg

of Tripoli; while, by sea, his fleets had captured several Turkish vessels, despatched with corn into Syria, where famine was already beginning to be felt. His hostile intentions being thus manifest, he had been declared a rebel; and the government of Egypt, Abyssinia and Candia, granted to Hussein Pasha, field-marshal of Anatolia. The powers in alliance with Turkey were consequently prayed to restrain their subjects from furnishing the traitor with arms, provisions, or aid of any kind. Such was the first step of Mahmood. But in this recapitulation of his grievances, while descanting on the ambition, perfidy, and ingratitude of his rival, qualities esteemed laudable by many princes, more especially in the East, when they themselves are not the objects of them, the Sultan incautiously and unintentionally allowed his apprehension of the Pasha's power to appear; thereby recommending him strongly to the consideration of the allies, for, in politics, power includes all the virtues.

DCCXXI. In Europe, where the resources of Turkey and Egypt were but imperfectly known, the Pasha was, by many, regarded as a rash adventurer, whose ambition was conducting him to his destruction. Much stress was laid on the appeal made by the Sultan to the fanaticism of the people of Egypt. But Mohammed Ali, foreseeing, perhaps, from afar, the struggle in which he must one day be engaged, had applied himself diligently, and with success, to the eradication of this fanaticism, which he rightly con-

sidered as his most dangerous enemy. With this fact, however, the politicians appear to have been unacquainted. Several events which happened in the spring of 1832, had contributed, moreover, to engender suspicions unfavourable to the Pasha. The siege of Acre had been unaccountably prolonged. Osman Pasha, Beglerbeg of Tripoli, and Mehemet, governor of Aleppo, having succeeded in drawing together a considerable force, had put themselves in motion towards the south, to oppose the Arabs. On receiving intelligence of their march, Ibrahim, leaving a part of his army before Acre, advanced to meet them. Tripoli had already fallen into the possession of the Arabs. To recover this city, of which he had been appointed governor, was the intention of Osman; that of Ibrahim was to strengthen the garrison, and maintain possession of it. Several attacks had already been made, and a whole battalion of Arabs cut off in a daring sally. The immediate fall of Tripoli was therefore regarded by the Turks as certain; but on the arrival of intelligence that Ibrahim with a division of the Egyptian army was rapidly advancing northward, and had already reached Badroon, a place situated on the sea-shore, six hours' march distant, Osman was seized by a panic, and abandoning by night his camp, munitions, artillery, provisions, and baggage, took to flight, while his army dispersed themselves in straggling parties through the country. So extraordinary a circumstance, unverified by weighty testimony, would unquestionably appear incredible; but the Sultan,

with lamentable imprudence, confirmed the charge of cowardice against his general, by depriving him of his rank, and ordering him to retire to Amasia; and this fact, coming to the ears of the Arabs, aided in creating the persuasion, that their courage and impetuosity were supremely dreaded by the Turks. Destructive fires, breaking out repeatedly at Constantinople about this period, agitated and discouraged the population of the capital, who seemed to have some invisible enemy confined within their own walls.

DCCXXII. Osman Pasha, in his flight from Tripoli, and before the order of the Sultan for his recall had arrived, halted at Homs, where, uniting his forces with those of several other Pashas, he thought of avenging the stain which his honour had received; and, learning that Ibrahim was returning southward, to resume the operations at Acre, circulated a report that the Egyptians were flying before the Turks, and marched in pursuit of them to the plains of Zera. Ibrahim, who was here encamped, perceiving it was their intention to give him battle, immediately arranged his forces, consisting of three regiments of infantry and regular cavalry, and a small body of Bedouin horse, into two divisions, which were opposed to the right and left wings of the Turkish army. As soon as the artillery began to play, which was the signal for attack, the Arabs commenced the contest by charging the Turks; who, unable to resist their impetuosity, turned their

backs and fled, while the Bedouins, pursuing them closely, cut off a considerable number during the retreat. These skirmishes, of little importance in themselves, served to heighten the courage of the Arabs, by habituating them, on a small scale, to victory. In the reports transmitted to Constantinople, these transactions were made to assume a different aspect. The Arabs, it was said, had been defeated, and the rebellious Pasha, humiliated and abandoned, was soon expected to atone for his disloyalty beneath the bowstring. Even in Egypt, this was the language of the Turks, who, faithful to Mahmood, imprudently hazarded in public the expression of their sentiments; which was interpreted by Mohammed Ali to signify a seditious contempt of his authority. An insurrection, in fact, being organised in Cairo, and on the eve of breaking forth, measures of extreme rigour were adopted against the malcontents; great numbers being seized and cast into prison, where the most obnoxious were secretly executed, and their heads, still fresh from the axe, and dripping with blood, rolled forth into the streets, to terrify the disaffected. These sanguinary executions, being repeated nightly, until the persons most dreaded were cut off, the disposition to revolt was repressed.

DCCXXIII. However, the Pasha now began to perceive the necessity of vigorously urging forward the siege of Acre, success being the best argument he could oppose to the representations of his enemies.

The spring, moreover, was advancing, and with it the vast preparations of the Sultan to take the field. His will, therefore, being declared, Ibrahim, on the 26th of May, ordering the generals, colonels, and chiefs of battalions into his tent, made the following arrangements for carrying the place by storm. Ahmed Bey, general of brigade, with the first battalion of the second regiment of infantry, was directed to mount the breach near the tower of Kapoo Boorjou; to the second battalion, the breach opposite Nebi-Saleh was assigned, and to the third, that of Zavié; each assaulting party to be supported by a battalion in reserve. About an hour after midnight, scaling-ladders were commanded to be brought to the trench near the tower of Kerim Boorjou. Each officer, moreover, received particular instructions. During the night the batteries kept up a continual fire upon the city, and immediately after sunrise the order for the assault was given. The breaches of Zavié and Nebi-Saleh were at once carried; but the detachment which had been directed against the tower of Kapoo-Boorjou, meeting with some resistance, exhibited signs of trepidation, and was about to give ground. Observing this, Ibrahim, sabre in hand, advanced towards them, and succeeded by vehement menaces in arresting their retrograde movement. At the same time the reserve advanced to their support, and while a part of the men kept the enemy in check by a well-directed fire, the others threw up an intrenchment.

DCCXXIV. In the city, the Turkish soldiers, whose numbers had been reduced to about two thousand, with the chivalrous Abdallah Pasha at their head, exhibited eminent proofs of bravery. In one hour and a half they made three different sallies, and though constantly repulsed, left upon the minds of the besiegers a high idea of their indomptable intrepidity. The cannonading continued all day on both sides. At the breach of Zavié, the Arabs having penetrated to the gate near the tower of the Khazné, Abdallah Pasha, followed by his staff, attacked them in person, and driving them beyond the ditch, where they were exposed to the fire of the besieged, they retired under the cover of their own battery. Ibrahim, supported by a number of inferior officers, endeavoured to bring them once more to the charge; but they again gave way, and retired before the Turks. He now ordered one of his chaooshes to snatch the colours from the standard-bearer, and advance towards the enemy. The soldier refused to deliver them. A second was sent, and met with the same refusal; but the standard-bearer himself now marching forward to the breach, was followed by the Arabs, who returned to the charge with so much fury, that they succeeded in reaching the parapet, from behind which they dislodged the enemy with stones. Such was the nature of the contest for many hours, a series of successes and disasters, more fatal, however, to the Turks than to the Arabs, since, their numbers being small, every man was missed. At length the firing ceased on both sides; and this sus-

pension of slaughter continued until half past five in the afternoon.

DCCXXV. In this interval, the principal engineer was directed to reconnoitre a part of the wall, where Ibrahim supposed the scaling ladders might be successfully applied; and his report confirming the suspicion of the general, orders were issued to commence the escalade. As the operation was conducted in the teeth of the enemy, who maintained a constant and murderous fire, the number of men who fell in effecting it was considerable; but their efforts were at length crowned with success, and a party of horse also throwing themselves into the town, the besieged perceived that all further defence was impracticable, and demanded quarter.* Immediately afterwards, a

* The following sketch of the siege is extracted from a private letter:—

"I proceeded to the camp of Ibrahim Pasha, by the way of Tyre and Sidon. On my arrival I was treated with all possible distinction, being provided with a general's tent, servants, and every other accommodation. The next morning his Highness sent one of his aides-de-camp to welcome me, and, at an audience granted shortly afterwards, requested I would remain a few days to witness his first attack on the city of St. Jean d'Acre. As this proposition coincided with my own wishes, I readily consented. My tent being situated on a gentle eminence overlooking the town, I enjoyed a full view of the entire scene of operations. At length the long wished for day arrived, and I very imprudently posted myself under cover of a small battery, about ten minutes' walk from the city. This position was, however, quickly rendered untenable, for the enemy, suspecting the Pasha was stationed there, opened a battery of four guns upon it, and a shell burst about two paces from me, to avoid which I threw myself prostrate on the ground. If any spectacle can present the mind with an idea of the horrors and fury of hell, it is that of a city taken by assault. From

deputation, consisting of certain officers of artillery, with the Mufti and Imam of Abdallah Pasha, arrived, imploring the clemency of the victor. They were graciously received by Ibrahim, who promised them his protection, and even allowed the officers to retain their arms. To Abdallah Pasha, life only was guaranteed. By this time the city was filled with soldiers, and those excesses and atrocities, too common on the storming of towns, took place. Women were violated, houses pillaged; but such property as could be discovered was next day restored to the owners. It has, however, been asserted, upon the authority of an European consul, then in the city, that the soldiers of Ibrahim were allowed seven days' sack of the town; but the author of this report is an ardent partisan of Abdallah Pasha; and it may be further remarked that, since Mohammed Ali aimed at gaining a permanent footing in Syria, the thing itself is improbable. Abdallah Pasha, two days after the taking of Acre, was sent prisoner into Egypt, where he was received with the honours due to a brave man, and had a palace, situated on the island of Rhouda, assigned him for his residence.

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my elevated position, I could perfectly distinguish all the movements of the troops; the advance of the different parties to the attack, the planting of the scaling ladders, and the hurling of the besiegers from the walls, as they vainly attempted to mount into the breach. The assault lasted four hours, during which the garrison defended themselves with the fury of lions. The batteries were enveloped in flame, and the *tout ensemble* presented a scene at once magnificent and appalling."

DCCXXVI. The tardy preparations of the Sultan at length enabling his forces to take the field, and march towards Syria, it was necessary that Ibrahim should advance to oppose them, and either effect their destruction in detail, or attack and rout them before they were firmly established in the country. In pursuance of this design he traversed the mountains of Galilee, and marched upon Damascus. Having descended into the extensive plain east of Mount Hermon, celebrated for its abundant dews, and approached within an hour and a half of the city, a small body of the enemy appeared, in order to dispute his advance. These, however, were quickly dispersed, principally by the ministry of the Bedouin cavalry, and the capital of Syria was left without defenders. In consequence, Ali Pasha, governor of the city, convinced of his utter inability to oppose an effectual resistance to the Arabs, collected together the few troops still under his command, and retired, taking along with him the principal Turkish authorities. Ibrahim, therefore, without loss of time, pushed on towards Damascus; but was met, on the way, by a deputation of the inhabitants, with Mustapha Aga at their head, who came to tender their submission, and to request his Highness,—since fortune had denied them the power of choice, — to take possession of their city. Their demand was acceded to; and the army, stationed within the walls, or encamped on the surrounding plains, amidst beautiful groves and gardens, watered by the Pharphar and Abana, enabled them to per-

severe in their submission to the conqueror. Up to this period the fanatical rabble who convert this delightful city into a stronghold of bigotry and intolerance had never been taught to behold a Christian without offering him some insult; but they now discovered Christians among their masters, and learned their first lessons in humanity at the sabre's point.

DCCXXVII. Such troops as the Sultan now possessed in Syria were concentrated at Hamah, where it was understood they had formed an entrenched camp. Soon after the taking of Damascus, Ibrahim advanced against this army, which, instead of remaining in its position, as might have been expected, quitted the camp, and marched forward to oppose him. Having passed the sources of the Orontes, Ibrahim took up his position, July 6th, on the eastern shore of Lake Tatli Gukul, two hours and a half south of Homs. Next morning, before the army had commenced its march, Ibrahim Aga, commander of the Bedouin cavalry, being encamped in advance of the regular troops, discovered the enemy approaching. They consisted of about twenty-five thousand men, infantry and horse, commanded by Mehemet, governor of Aleppo, and eight inferior Pashas. Ibrahim immediately drew out his troops in order of battle. On the right wing were stationed two regiments of regular cavalry; the infantry, with six pieces of cannon, forming the centre; and other regiments of cavalry, with the redoubtable Bedouin

horse, constituting the left wing. The Turks advanced in three columns. The action was commenced by the Bedouins, who, preceding the main army in small separate detachments, skirmished with the Turkish vanguard. Scarcely, however, had the cannonading began, before the Turks retrograded towards Homs, the Arabs moving forward as they retired; but having proceeded about a league, the enemy again stood their ground, and the combat was renewed. Both armies exhibited, for some time, a disposition to maintain the contest with vigour, the Turks being inspired by contempt for their enemies, and a recollection of the military renown of their ancestors; while the Arabs, on their side, elated by recent success, were moreover inflamed by the remembrance of insult and injury, and the unquenchable desire of revenge. When, therefore, the four battalions of the guards, commanded by Koorshid and Sélim Bey, and the second and fourth regiments of cavalry, received the order to charge the Turks, the Arabs, sabre and bayonet in hand, rushed forward with so much fury and impetuosity, that the enemy, whose ranks were broken, and thrown into irremediable confusion, were immediately driven with great slaughter from the field. Night, and the apprehension of stratagem, prevented their entire destruction. For Ibrahim, surprised at the suddenness of their defeat, feared they were merely feigning flight, in order to draw him into an ambuscade; otherwise, few could have escaped death, as the fugitives had a long tract of country to traverse, without a single

point where they could have made a stand for a moment; and the Egyptian Bedouins had been so admirably organised, that they were equal if not superior to the Kossaks in distressing a retreating army. Next morning the tents, ammunition, artillery, and provisions of the enemy fell into the hands of the Arabs, who, during the battle, had made two thousand five hundred prisoners.

DCCXXVIII. Two days after the battle, the Arabs, who had taken possession of Homs, again put themselves in motion, and advanced towards the north. At the village of Rasten, the Arethusa of antiquity, they traversed the Orontes, and encamped on the western bank. The few pieces of artillery, which had remained to the Turks after their defeat, being abandoned by the way, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Every thing is adverse to the unfortunate. Seeing their ancient oppressors dispersed, and flying in small parties for their lives, the Anezi Arabs, a tribe of Syrian Bedouins, falling upon them, cut off the greater part of those who had escaped the Egyptians. On the 10th of July Ibrahim entered Hamah, where news was brought him that the defeated Pashas were collected together in the castle of El Medyk; while Hussein, field-marshal of Anatolia, and commander-in-chief of the Turkish armies in Syria, had arrived at Antioch, and was endeavouring to secure Aleppo; but throughout the whole of the war the Syrians had shown so unfavourable a disposition towards the Sultan, that, upon sounding the authori-

ties, Hussein considered it dangerous to trust his troops within its walls.

DCCXXIX. Ibrahim, well acquainted with the predilections of the inhabitants, advanced without loss of time, in order to profit by them, and gain possession of Aleppo. Circumstances in themselves trifling often disclose the character of a general, and exhibit his fitness or unfitness to command. An anecdote illustrative of this truth is related of the Egyptian commander. The army, after a long and fatiguing march in the heat of the day over a country destitute of water, arrived, a little before noon, at a spring, where they halted to quench their thirst. Here Ibrahim Pasha, aware of the value of such condescensions in a general, took his station by the well, and directed the distribution of the water to the soldiers. In two hours they arrived and encamped in the gardens of Marrah, where they learned that Hussein Pasha, having quitted Antioch on the news of the disaster at Homs, was likewise marching upon Aleppo. On the morrow Ibrahim resumed his route. Dreading the horrors of a siege, or from that instability of temper characteristic of slaves, the Aleppines shut their gates against the Turkish general, who fearing, with his dispirited forces, to encounter the victorious Arabs, fled precipitately, abandoning his camp and artillery, which accordingly became the spoil of the enemy. When Ibrahim, therefore, arrived before the city, there remained no enemy to contend with; on the contrary, a deputation, consisting of the Kadi,

Mufti, and principal inhabitants, came forth to receive him, with offers of voluntary submission, and prayers, probably sincere, for his success and long life.

DCCXXX. Here the Egyptian general affected the desire to pause in his career of victory, until the differences between Egypt and the Porte should be arranged. But this design, if it was ever entertained, quickly appeared to be impracticable: for Hussein Pasha, encamped above the defiles of Bylan with an army which would receive continual reinforcements, was an enemy not to be contemned, more especially as he had taken up a strong mountain position, fortified with several batteries. To dislodge him from this point, therefore, Ibrahim again took the field. Distributing his forces into two divisions, the one commanded by Hassan Bey, general of brigade, the other under his own immediate orders, he marched forward to the attack. The enemy, observing the approach of the Arabs, opened a tremendous fire on both columns, from eminences commanding the roads; but this was soon checked by the Egyptian artillery; and several regiments, mounting the heights with a rare intrepidity, and beginning a vigorous attack upon the Turks, the latter, at the approach of evening, took to flight, abandoning camp and baggage, and directed their course towards Adana. Ibrahim encamped on the field of battle. On the morrow the cavalry was despatched in pursuit of the enemy, while the remainder of the army took up its quarters at Bylan. Here several personages of distinction passed

over from the Turkish army to that of Mohammed Ali; among others, Alish Pasha of Latikea, who, having engaged the service of an European vessel, came with his harem and six pieces of cannon to join the Egyptian forces at Skanderoon! On the 1st of August, Ibrahim received the submission of the people of Antioch, and appointed Khalil Bey governor of the district of Bylan. From all sides the provincial authorities hastened to tender their submission, in the hope of preserving those personal advantages, which, to base and servile minds, appear of far greater value than honour and the love of country.

DCCXXXI. On entering Skanderoon Ibrahim took possession of all the provisions and military stores which the Porte had transported thither for the use of its armies during the campaign. At this point the Egyptian general was met by Captain Mansel, of his Majesty's ship Alfred, whom he assured that he had not left a single man in arms, on the part of the Sultan, in the whole of Syria. An anecdote characteristic of Ibrahim has been related by this officer. His army, it is said, had been brought to so perfect a state of obedience to discipline, that, in general, the inhabitants, throughout the whole of Syria, were scarcely conscious of the presence of an invading force in their country.* During his occupation of Skande-

* The following extract from a private letter, will show that this account was not entirely correct; —

"In the course of my journey to the river Jordan, I was attacked by an Arab robber; but my guide, as well as myself, being well armed we

roon, however, an accusation was brought against certain Bedouins, who in their excursions against the enemy had committed some paltry theft. The actual perpetrators of the crime were not to be found; but atonement, Ibrahim supposed, was due to the injured: and, therefore, though he had been so deeply indebted to these brave soldiers, he took four men at random from their ranks, to which they submitted without a murmur, and caused them to be shot in the sight of the army, declaring that, if similar disorders again occurred, he would decimate the whole body. Such actions, however, are to be considered, not as a proof of a due regard for justice, which is usually despised

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beat them off. I travelled alone during fifteen days, unable to speak one word of Arabic, sleeping in stables with horses, mules, asses, &c., tormented with every variety of disgusting vermin. As the country was labouring under the horrors of famine, I could procure no provision, being compelled to subsist entirely on a small portion of mouldy biscuit, with which I had provided myself previous to quitting Ibrahim's camp; and I arrived at Sidon, exhausted by hunger and fatigue. From thence I sailed to Tripoli, in the neighbourhood of which, being tempted to become spectator of a skirmish, I was overtaken by a party of irregular troops, consisting of savage Arabs, who were retreating from the scene of action. On perceiving me, they put spurs to their horses, and it was with the utmost difficulty I avoided being trampled to death. Their first object appeared merely to intimidate me, as they brandished their guns and swords over my head, as if for that purpose. I was, however, mortally frightened, and giving myself up for lost, threw myself on the ground at the risk of being trodden to death by the horses, when a young Arab attacked me furiously, and would, no doubt, have quickly terminated my career, had not an Egyptian officer, and four soldiers, most providentially come up in time to rescue me from his hands. The ferocious young barbarian, however, out of mere wantonness, actually murdered a poor woman, who had retreated behind me for protection, and then galloped off."

by barbarians, but as the wanton excesses of despotic power, ignorant of the art of distinguishing between salutary severity and unjust punishment: besides, this rigour of discipline does not appear to have been uniformly acted upon: for, according to the report of the English consul of Beirout, both the Egyptians and Bedouins had violated, with impunity, the women of the Druzes; a crime of far greater magnitude than depriving men of property which a change of fortune might restore.

DCCXXXII. At Alexandria, Ibrahim's successes were celebrated with numerous discharges of artillery, and with illuminations and rejoicings. Three triumphal arches were erected in different parts of the city by the Pasha's Italian flatterers: the first, "To Mohammed Ali, the Rival of Alexander;" the second, "To the victorious Ibrahim Pasha;" and the third, "To the victorious Egyptian army." At night these arches were brilliantly illuminated. Still further to increase these public demonstrations of joy, the *Masr*, a hundred and thirty-eight gun ship, was launched; in honour of which event the whole fleet was lighted up in the evening, with lamps. One circumstance only chilled the public enthusiasm: this was, the seizure of two thousand men, who, in the midst of their loyalty, were torn violently from their wives and children, and conveyed on board the fleet.

DCCXXXIII. In consequence of the defeat at Bylan, the Sultan's troops fell back in the greatest

disorder upon Koniah, which, during the whole war, had been the point where the Turkish forces had been concentrated, leaving only a few men in the passes of Mount Taurus. Hussein Pasha, who had been appointed successor of Mohammed Ali in the government of Egypt, despairing of reaching this envied height, seems, after the battle of Bylan, to have abandoned his army, and taken to flight with a few followers; having previously embarked his treasure on board of a Greek vessel, in order to be conveyed to Tarsus. The unprincipled mariner, instead of discharging his duty, put on shore by force the persons entrusted with the care of the money, and escaped with the booty into one of the islands of the Archipelago; but the greater part was afterwards recovered for the Porte by an English ship of war, whose commander was presented by the Sultan with a sabre of gold. Meanwhile it was discovered, at Constantinople, that the disasters in Syria were chargeable to the evil destiny of Hussein Pasha. He was therefore removed from the principal command, and the Grand Vizir appointed to succeed him. Mahmood's conduct in this critical conjuncture betrays much weakness and indecision, and a too great anxiety to shuffle off from himself the charge of bad fortune, by casting on his unsuccessful generals all the odium of the public calamities. But he thus unconsciously laid the foundation for a still more serious accusation; since want of judgment, of which, by his own tacit confession, he was eminently guilty in the appointment of incompetent commanders, and in blindly undervaluing the

genius of his enemies, is worse than bad fortune, of which it is generally the parent.

DCCXXXIV. While the Porte was agitated by these distracting changes, by mortification for past, and apprehension of future defeats, Ibrahim advanced beyond the limits of Syria, and established his head quarters first at Tarsus, and afterwards at Adana, where he remained to receive the further orders of his father; in the meantime occupying himself in examining the timber of the country, and in constructing a road for bringing it down to the sea. Formerly the province of Adana constituted a separate pashalik; but in consequence of that gradual impoverishment observable throughout the empire, it had of late been attached, as a dependent district, to another province. Exposed, during summer, to dangerous epidemics, and pernicious winds, which, in the great heats, sometimes occasion terrible ravages among the population, its climate must be regarded as peculiarly insalubrious. Nevertheless, being covered with valuable forests, the possession of it was much coveted by the Pasha, Egypt itself being wholly destitute of timber. Mohammed Ali had invariably, after each success, held out to the Porte offers of conciliation, which were either rejected, or answered evasively. Ibrahim had now arrived, however, at the extreme limits of the original enterprise of the Pasha; and to have invaded Asia Minor would have evinced projects against the Sultan more extensive than Mohammed Ali appears to have at first entertained.

DCCXXXV. But the obstinacy of the Porte, and the fact that a formidable force, under the orders of the Grand Vizir, was collecting at Koniah, in order to march upon Syria, determined the Pasha to push forward, and force the passes of Mount Taurus. On the 16th of October, therefore, at break of day, the army began its march from Bouzatni, the Dehli cavalry forming the vanguard, and the Bedouins bringing up the rear. The defile to be forced was extremely narrow, and the neighbouring heights had been covered with batteries. A considerable body of cavalry had posted themselves in the valley; the heights above Chifti Khan were occupied by the infantry, supported also by cavalry; and the remainder of the enemy had taken up a position on the opposite mountains. After a short pause, consumed in reconnoitering the movements of the Turks, who were partly covered by their entrenchments, the Arabs advanced to dislodge them. The engagement commenced with discharges of musquetry. Immediately afterward, Ibrahim Aga, at the head of the infantry, and Sélim Bey, with the Bedouin cavalry, supported by a body of Dehlis, attacked the entrenchments of the enemy, directing their movements towards the tent of the Turkish general. This decided the fortune of the day. The commanders taking flight, the troops speedily followed their example, the rout became general, and the Arabs, now no longer opposed by an enemy, marched through the defiles of Mount Taurus, and descended into the vast plains of Asia Minor.

DCCXXXVI. Ibrahim had now, perhaps, overstepped the bounds prescribed by the Pasha to his military operations; but he had been led on by circumstances; and it should not be overlooked that, throughout the empire, a large party, if not a majority, existed in favour of Mohammed Ali. Who can tell, therefore, the projects of self-aggrandisement which now presented themselves to the mind of the ambitious Pasha, and his no less ambitious son? Prudence has rarely been known to associate with the lust of empire in the same breast; and the invitations of the Turks themselves inhabiting the provinces not yet subdued, impatient of the grinding despotism of Mahmood, and ignorant that the government of Mohammed Ali was precisely of the same description, may now, perhaps, have given rise to the hope that the Sultan might be dethroned, and the Pasha of Egypt invested with imperial power. These addresses were of course graciously received; they make known the vexations to which the people were subjected by the provincial governors, and the hopes which they entertained that under the rule of the Pasha they might taste of that tranquillity and happiness to which they had long been strangers. Even from the province of Kastamuni in Anatolia, situated on the northern extremities of Asia Minor, a petition, signed by the ulemas, gentlemen, and inhabitants, was addressed to Mohammed Ali.

DCCXXXVII. They represented that, "the Mutsellims recently appointed by the Seraskier, Khos-

rew Pasha, to the government of this province, had exercised their authority in the most tyrannical manner. Surrounded by individuals impious as themselves, they had dishonoured the Musulman religion, openly violating the precepts of God, and the law of the Prophet. So criminal a conduct could no longer be supported; with a view of restraining these deplorable excesses, remonstrances had been addressed to the new Mutsellim; but, turning a deaf ear to their complaints, and supported by partisans equally blind to consequences, he only became the more hardened in his tyranny, while, to maintain his own cause, in his despatches to government, he malignantly calumniated the honest and peaceful inhabitants of the province. Thereupon, accompanied by his party, he abandoned the city, and turning his arms against the vassals committed to his care, waged against them the most sanguinary war, murdering, pillaging, and devastating the country, where nothing was spared by the fury of this monster. Such crimes could not fail to inflame the courage of true Musulmans, whose efforts were seconded by the blessings of heaven. Elhaj Mustapha Aga, of an ancient family in the country, at the head of the true believers, attacked the bandits, killed the Tufenkji Bashi of the Mutsellim, and made prisoners a great number of his followers. The vanquished now retired to Tash Kiupri, eight leagues distant from Kastamuni, where they sought, by raising new levies, to repair the loss they had sustained. But the inhabitants of the

different districts of the province, marching against them in a body, a second battle took place, in which they were again defeated, with loss, while all their artillery and ammunition fell into the hands of the victors. Discouraged by this disaster, and perceiving their inability to enforce their unjust pretensions, they evacuated our territories in confusion, but still await, on the frontiers, the reinforcements which they have demanded from Constantinople. In consequence, we, the inhabitants of this province, have unanimously resolved to quit the party of the government, which no longer affords us any security. And, desirous of participating in the tranquillity and happiness, which the other nations and provinces that have shaken off the yoke of the enemy enjoy under your Highness's protection, we pray your Highness to receive our homage and submission, and to defend us by your power. We at the same time humbly request that Elhaj Mustapha Aga, distinguished for his philanthropy, disinterestedness, and experience, may be appointed Mutsellim of this province."

DCCXXXVIII. Such is the picture of by far the greater number of the provinces of the Turkish empire. Every where the oppressions and insolence of the governors urged the people to rebellion; and if Mahmood did not participate in these criminal proceedings, he at least wanted the authority to repress them. It was with reason, therefore, Mohammed Ali concluded, that by possessing himself of Koniah, the grand centre of Turkish operations, and thus

giving a new impulse to the spirit of disaffection in Asia Minor, he should be able, in some measure, to compel the Sultan to listen, in the course of the winter, to terms of accommodation. With this view Ibrahim Pasha advanced by the direct road to Koniah, while an inferior general, a nephew of Mohammed Ali, was directed to march upon Antab (where the Pasha of Aleppo was endeavouring to raise contributions from the inhabitants), in order to clear that part of the country of the Sultan's troops, and afterwards effect a junction with the commander in chief. Fortune now appeared to have wholly abandoned the Turks. Ibrahim, pursuing his march towards Koniah, entered it without opposition, the Sultan's army, amounting to about twelve thousand men, having evacuated it on the news of his approach. On leaving the city, however, they assassinated the Mufti, whom they suspected of being well affected towards the Pasha. The march of Ibrahim the younger, in the direction of Antab, having been retarded by many unforeseen circumstances, he had been prevented from effecting a junction between his forces and those of his uncle, so that on the arrival of the latter at Koniah his army was comparatively inconsiderable. If the Grand Vizir, therefore, had hastened his march from Broussa, Ibrahim would again have retired upon Mount Taurus, to take up the strong position of Eregli, the ancient Archalla. But it is more than probable that the ultimate result might have proved nearly the same; as the Egyptian general would have been falling back on his rein-

forcements, which were on the march towards him by land, and arriving in great numbers at Tarsus from Egypt by sea. Dissensions, as usual, distracted the counsels of the Turks. In the Divan, the prevailing opinion was, that the army ought to advance, and engage the enemy; but the Grand Vizir considered it more politic to remain in his position, covering Constantinople.

DCCXXXIX. At length, however, the views of Mahmood coinciding with those of his council, a Pasha was despatched to the camp of the Grand Vizir, with positive orders for him to advance, and drive Ibrahim out of Konjah. But this was now difficult; for the delay which had taken place, having enabled the Egyptian general to receive his reinforcements, he was no longer in the disposition to retrograde. The Grand Vizir *, not daring to refuse obedience to the orders of his sovereign, however imprudent, commenced, therefore, his march towards Koniah; where the Arabs were already in possession both of

* In a recent work on Turkey, an anecdote is related of this general, which, from its quaint and barbarous character, I suppose to be genuine. "The Grand Vizir, even during his fearful struggle with the Albanians, was hastening the organisation of troops for the conquest of Anatoly, as it might be called, and for *the reduction of Mehemet Ali*. 'The *old fox*,' he observed, 'has seized the moment well: had he given me another year, I would have made Egypt like *a shaved chin*.'"—*Turkey and its Resources*, p. 233. Even had another year been allowed him, however, his Excellency would have found that "the reduction of *Mehemet Ali*," with his eighty thousand regular troops, and forty thousand Bedouin cavalry, was no easy task. In fact, no sensible Turk could be ignorant, that the conquest of Egypt by the Sultan was perfectly chimerical.

the country and the hearts of its inhabitants. The armies first came in contact at Akshehr. The Turkish vanguard encountering a party of the Bedouin cavalry, which had been stationed there, the latter brought the report to Ibrahim, who sent forward a detachment, to disturb them as they were cutting wood for the camp; and a skirmish ensued, in which the Turks were driven back, with the loss of a great number of their men, and six pieces of cannon. During his march, the Grand Vizir had written to Ibrahim Pasha, calling to his recollection their old acquaintance under the walls of Missolonghi, stating that he had received from the Sultan the most positive orders to engage, and entreating him therefore to fall back upon Syria, in order to prevent the responsibility to be incurred by a further effusion of Musulman blood. Ibrahim answered him kindly; regretting the hostile position in which they were placed, but, at the same time, requesting him, to reflect how impossible it was for him to take the step to which he urged him. With regard to the blood which would be shed, both parties, he observed, must be accounted innocent, the one acting under the orders of the Sultan, the other under those of the Pasha.

DCCXL. The Egyptian general now selected his ground in advance of Koniah, where he quietly awaited the approach of the Grand Vizir. Every thing appeared favourable to the Pasha. Towards the forces of the Porte, habituated to insolence and insubordination, the inhabitants, impatient of their ancient yoke,

conducted themselves as towards an enemy. On the other hand, the invaders, regarded in the light of deliverers, were received and obeyed with alacrity, not having, as yet, been employed in any of those unpopular services, such as sacking refractory villages, violating the women, or impressing the men, all common in Oriental despotisms, which necessarily alienate the minds of the people. A comparatively strict discipline, indeed, was observed in the Arab army, even among the fierce and lawless Bedouins. Within themselves, moreover, they felt that buoyancy of mind, that boldness, energy, and confidence, which uninterrupted good fortune inspires even in the feeble; while the enemy were weighed down by the recollection of former defeats; which, among barbarians, unacquainted with that mental discipline which teaches us to derive hope and motives to perseverance even out of loss and the very desperateness of our circumstances, is apt to engender the persuasion that their affairs are under the guidance of an evil destiny. In these very different frames of mind, the two armies began the contest. Nevertheless, the Turks here displayed a more obstinate valour than on any preceding occasion; a circumstance which may be accounted for by the greater number of regular troops engaged in the battle; by the attachment of the soldiers to the Grand Vizir, whom they had followed in all his former campaigns; and, lastly, by the great personal courage and military talent of the commander himself: the Turkish generals, on former occasions, having commonly been the first to fly. The enemy's artillery,

which was well served, caused great havoc in the Egyptian army; but the Arabs, having learned to charge it, appeared to have a predilection for this kind of service, which enabled them to gratify, in close fight, their fierce hereditary hatred of the Turks, who could not resist an impetuosity which they seemed to regard as a phenomenon. The combat, more destructive than lasting, terminated in the total discomfiture of the Ottomans, and the capture of the Grand Vizir himself. No victory during the whole war had been more decisive: so complete, indeed, was the overthrow, that a part of the enemy's army, despairing of effecting its escape, came over to the Egyptians; while the remainder, forsaking their standards, dispersed themselves through the country for the purpose of plunder. The road to Constantinople being now clear, Ibrahim lost no time in advancing towards it.*

* This battle was fought December 19. 1832, and the news reached Alexandria on the 3d of January, 1833.

CHAPTER XXII.

SAILING OF THE EGYPTIAN FLEET — ARRIVAL AT SKANDEROON — CAPTURE OF SIX TURKISH VESSELS — APPROACH OF THE OTTOMAN SQUADRON — ATTEMPTED NEGOTIATION — CHARACTER OF THE EGYPTIAN ADMIRAL — INNOVATIONS OF MOHAMMED ALI — PROHIBITION OF CONSTANTINOPOLITAN MONEY — PREDICTION OF THE PASHA'S ENEMIES — MAGNIFICENT CELEBRATION OF THE FEAST OF BAIRAM — REPORTED LANDING OF RUSSIAN TROOPS AT SCUTARI — CONSTERNATION OF THE PORTE — TREATY OF PEACE — ARRIVAL OF THE RUSSIAN ENVOY AT ALEXANDRIA — FIERCE MANDATE — DEMANDS OF RUSSIA — BAD FAITH OF THE SULTAN — LETTER OF MOHAMMED ALI TO HIS PROVINCIAL INSPECTORS — DISTRESS OF THE ARABS — LIBERAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE FRANKS — ARRIVAL AND RECEPTION OF THE BRITISH POLITICAL AGENT — HIS SPEECH TO THE PASHA — THE PASHA'S REPLY — IBRAHIM ORDERED TO SUSPEND HIS MILITARY OPERATIONS — ARRIVAL OF THE RUSSIAN FLEET AT CONSTANTINOPLE — ADMIRAL ROUSSIN'S LETTER TO MOHAMMED ALI — THE PASHA'S ANSWER — ADVANTAGEOUS PEACE — PUBLIC REJOICINGS AT ALEXANDRIA.

DCCXLI. We have hitherto abstained from interrupting the narrative of the operations of the army, by adverting to what took place at sea; but we now return to it. The fleet of Mohammed Ali set sail from Egypt early in the spring, augmented to a very formidable force by the indefatigable activity of the Pasha; but still much inferior, both in ships and guns, to that of the Sultan. A very large proportion of the sailors, moreover, were new levies. It was obviously, therefore, the policy of the Pasha to confine himself, as far as possible, to defensive operations,

by sea, as well in order to cover his own coasts, as to embarrass the movements of the Sultan, in throwing provisions and munitions of war into Syria; the accomplishment of which was in itself a victory. The Turkish fleet, on leaving Constantinople, appears to have made directly for the island of Rhodes; whence, after a short delay, it continued its voyage to Skanderoon, convoying a great number of transports, laden with supplies for the army. An unhappy fatality, however, seemed to direct all the operations of the Turks. The battle of Homs having already been fought, their troops were in retreat; and these supplies served but to provision the Egyptian army in its advance. At the news of the arrival of the enemy's fleet in the Levant seas, that of the Pasha —at least, all the frigates and line-of-battle ships— in order to observe the movements of the Turks, pushed off from the coast, under the command of Osman Pasha, who had lately been raised, by Mohammed Ali, to the rank of Chief Admiral. In the early part of the cruise, six small Ottoman vessels fell into the hands of the Egyptians; but the fleets did not come within view of each other till near the close of the summer; when the Egyptians, who were taking in water at Phœnika, on the coast of Asia Minor, descried the Sultan's fleet sailing to the westward, in the direction of Rhodes. This happened after the Captain Pasha had thrown the supplies into Skanderoon; and it is supposed that, having discovered from the general aspect of affairs, that the cause of the Turks in Syria was desperate, he was now hasten-

ing with this unwelcome news to Constantinople. The Egyptians immediately got under weigh, in order of battle, and, gaining advantage of the wind, kept the Turks in sight. As it was by no means the intention of the Captain Pasha to avoid an engagement, he now made a signal*, which was understood by the Egyptians, who had gained possession of their signal book, indicating a design to put about, for the purpose of getting to windward and attacking the Egyptian fleet; but Osman Pasha, by a skilful manœuvre, defeated the project of the Ottoman admiral; and, putting farther out to sea, continued his route westward, in the expectation of taking them at greater disadvantage in issuing from the channel of Rhodes. The fleet of the Sultan, however, entered the port of Marmara, where a sort of armistice took place; as propositions were passing from Mohammed Ali to the Porte through the medium of the Captain Pasha. But these negotiations ended in nothing. Nevertheless, the Turkish admiral was ordered back to Constantinople, and the Egyptians, who had kept their station before the port of Marmara, hung upon their rear as far as Mytilene; from whence they sailed, first to Candia, and afterwards to Alexandria. Thus the naval campaign concluded without bloodshed; six small vessels of the enemy having fallen into the hands of the Egyptians, and two of the Pasha's corvettes being captured by the Turks. The conduct

* The signal was,—to put about at sunset, and keep the boats in readiness, for the purpose of towing off the fire-ships, of which there were four or five in the Pasha's fleet.

of Osman Pasha, the Egyptian admiral, has been commented upon, with much acrimony, in Egypt; and, perhaps, a charge of intemperance and want of activity may justly be made against him. In other respects, it cannot be shown that he has acted contrary to the intentions of his master, who seems, by still continuing him in the command, tacitly to approve of his behaviour. It is possible, however, that although Mohammed Ali may not be altogether satisfied with Osman Pasha, motives of policy may prevent his removing him; since he might thereby throw discredit on his judgment in the opinion of the old Turkish grandees, by proving himself to have been mistaken in a person of whom he had thought well, and on whom he had showered every favour which it was in his power to bestow.*

DCCXLII. Meanwhile the signal successes of Ibrahim encouraged the Pasha to hazard fresh innovations at home. He now issued an order prohibiting the use of Constantinopolitan money, under pretence that it was much deteriorated in value; though this was also the case with that coined in Egypt. The *chapters* concerning the proceedings of the council of Cairo in the Egyptian newspapers, previously entitled, "The news of the Mejlis," were now denominated, "The news of the proceedings of the Royal Mejlis." These circumstances gave rise to many reflections. Such steps, it was remarked, could only

* Since the above was written Osman has deserted the cause of the Pasha, and entered into the Sultan's service.

be intended to discover the current of the public mind; which, if found to be favourable, would embolden him to coin money in his own name, and likewise to substitute it, instead of Sultan Mahmood's, in the public prayers. All the Turks and other bigoted Musulmans in Egypt, being unfavourable to the Pasha, stupidly refused to believe, even after his arrival in the country, that Abdallah Pasha had been taken prisoner, or that Ibrahim had been victorious in Syria; and, as often as the guns of the citadel of Cairo announced a victory, retired, pale and trembling, to their houses, lest the signs of grief, which their very countenances involuntarily betrayed, might expose them to punishment. Even the Pasha's adherents, unable to comprehend the high flight of his policy, condemned the passage of the Taurian chain. Had he confined himself, they argued, within the limits of Syria, and there made himself strong, by concentrating all his forces on the northern frontier, he might always have defeated any army which the Porte could have sent against him, and thus have forced the Sultan to relinquish his claims on that great province. But now, that Ibrahim had advanced so far, there was no hope of a reconciliation. The Sultan, in his obstinacy and despair of his situation, might, by a bold stroke of policy, and at the price of some territorial concession to a powerful neighbour, ensure the total humiliation of his antagonist. It was therefore confidently predicted that the Pasha must fall, chiefly, because his cause was not that of the people; as if the interests of the people ever could entirely coincide with those of a despot. The victo-

ries of Ibrahim were disparaged: his success was mainly attributed to the seditious spirit of the inhabitants of Asia Minor, who, in their deep-rooted discontent, would, it was said, have hailed any invader promising a change in the existing order of things; a proof that the Turkish government had become intolerable. Ibrahim, on his part, had ably converted this feeling to his advantage: "I come," said he, "to redress your grievances. My father is still the humble servant of the Sultan, and the defender of our holy faith. In marching upon Constantinople, my object is, to make peace, to ensure your privileges: when this is accomplished, I shall straightway return to my father."

DCCXLIII. Mohammed Ali, it was said, had himself cut off all hope of a reconciliation with his sovereign; for, how could the Sultan make peace with a vassal, who had assumed the attributes of royalty, and kept forcible possession of the three holy cities—Damascus, "the smile of the prophet," Medina, his tomb, and Mekka, his birth-place. The Sultan was to be regarded as something more than a temporal sovereign, being the head of the Ulemas, and the Khalif of the Mohammedan religion; wherefore, his very title to the pontificate being endangered, it was predicted that, seeing to what extremities he had been driven by the defeat of his armies, he might, as a last resource, unfurl the sanjiak sheriff, or sacred standard of the empire; which would be a signal for all true believers to unite for the defence of their

religion; a motive which even the disaffected would embrace, and that the more readily, inasmuch as the man held up to them as attempting to subvert the throne and the altar had already been condemned by the Divan, in the hatti-sheriff launched against him at the commencement of the war, as an excommunicated person and a heretic. He would now, also, be stigmatised as the cause of the interruption of the pious duties of pilgrimage, and of the pollution of the holy cities by the presence of Christians. Such prejudices, it was supposed, would operate powerfully upon the mass of the people throughout the Ottoman dominions; but, in arguing thus, it was not recollected that the Sultan himself had likewise still more rashly and openly offended the stupid prejudices of the Turks: and, if he had hitherto abstained from unfurling the sanjiak sheriff, it was because he knew that such an appeal to fanaticism would now be regarded with scorn and laughter. Still, arguments of this kind, circulating from mouth to mouth, alarmed the Pasha; who, to silence the malcontents, again had recourse to imprisonment and secret executions: terror being found to operate more efficaciously than any other means in producing an appearance of tranquillity.

DCCXLIV. In the midst of these transactions, the feast of the Bairam arrived. Having been accused of heresy and irreligion, it was incumbent on the Pasha to combat such reports by an ostentatious display of piety, united with the insignia of power and

secular pomp. He was then at Alexandria. At the first, light carpets were spread upon the ground, in the open air, before the stairs of the Divan. The Pasha, surrounded by Moharram Bey, Osman Pasha, and the principal officers of the army and fleet, in their gorgeous uniforms and sparkling decorations, knelt down on the carpets, and prayed with the chief priest, who stood by the side of the prince, holding the koran over his head. Two regiments of infantry were drawn up in a semicircle, with their arms piled up behind them. The plain and the hills in the vicinity were covered with the workmen of the arsenal, the sailors of the fleet, and the faithful inhabitants of Alexandria, all dressed in new garments, and with countenances bright with joy. Every face was turned towards Mekka. Fifty thousand men went through the exercise of prayer, as if animated by one soul. The sun had no sooner risen above the horizon, and the last benediction been given, than the new year was ushered in by the thunder of the artillery of the whole fleet and land-batteries. A line of fifteen miles, from the Arab's Tower to the Little Pharillon, was covered with flame and smoke; and the town and harbour were hidden from the view by these incessant discharges. In the meantime all the numerous bands struck up martial airs. The prince then retired to his musnud; where he received the congratulations of his officers, and dismissed them with his blessing. One of the regiments, on quitting the parade, marched to the seashore, where it was embarked on board a number of trans-

ports for Syria. Orders were also given to put the fleet in readiness for sea on the expiration of the festival, which continued three days. The appearance of the Pasha in the midst of these public acts of religion was closely scrutinised; and it was remarked that he seemed more thoughtful than usual. An extraordinary gloom, it was said, hung over his countenance; reports being then current in Egypt, that forty thousand Russian troops had landed at Scutari.

DCCXLV. The news of the victory of Koniah, and the advance of Ibrahim upon the capital, had caused great consternation in the Porte; and the Russians, who, in the commencement of the quarrel, had declared against Mohammed Ali, now betrayed an inclination to take advantage of this feeling, by proffering aid to the Sultan, to protect Constantinople. A treaty was accordingly entered into, which, though badly received, when laid before the Divan, appears to have heen obstinately adhered to by the Sultan; but, to comply with the wishes of his council, Halil, late Captain Pasha, was despatched to Alexandria to treat for peace. Previously, however, the Russian general, Muravieff, who had been engaged in negotiating with the Sultan respecting the aid to be rendered by Russia, had sailed to Egypt, with the same views. He arrived on the 13th of January. Next day news was brought from the Hejaz that the troops of Ismael Bey had assassinated their general, and that the whole province was in a

state of anarchy. Such intelligence, it might be supposed, would render the Pasha more tractable. General Muravieff, an able politician, had several conferences with his Highness, in which he demanded, first, that the march of Ibrahim upon Constantinople should be suspended; and, secondly, that Mohammed Ali should seriously endeavour to effect a peace with the Sultan. He further added, in expressions bordering on menace, that Russia would not permit the dismemberment of the Turkish empire, by any pretensions on his part to sovereignty and independence: as if the half barbarous Russ already possessed the power to determine, in all that concerns politics, without consulting the great civilised nations of Europe. Austria, also, in imitation of Russia, held nearly the same language. These steps were intended to humble the mind of the Pasha, that, on the arrival of the Turkish ambassador, he might the more easily accede to the terms proposed by the Sultan.

DCCXLVI. The Pasha appears to have foreseen, from the beginning, the dangers and obstacles to which he must necessarily be exposed in his struggles for absolute independence; and, accordingly, all his proceedings were conducted upon this view of the matter. But his mind, however active and comprehensive, acquired a touch of bitterness from the constant and almost universal opposition which he experienced. His very existence might now depend on his show of means for resisting aggression. Yet the officers charged with levying conscriptions and con-

tributions in Egypt, which was at length nearly exhausted, experienced insuperable difficulties in the execution of their duty; and neither the number of men, nor the amount of money required, was furnished. Irritated by insolent menaces from without, and by what he may have deemed a culpable negligence in his own people, he addressed to the numerous inspectors of provinces the following mandate, couched in fierce language, but adapted, perhaps, to the characters of the individuals, and rendered excusable by the urgent necessities of the moment: "From the registers laid before me by Mahmood Bey, minister of war, I learn what conscripts thou hast sent, to supply the place of the deserters of the preceding year, as well as the deficiency in the contingent which should have been furnished by thy province. The number falls very far short of that which was demanded. Wild beast that thou art: by what art thou occupied? Doest thou not understand that, according to my irrevocable orders, this business should have taken precedence of all others? Being in want of men, and supposing thou wouldst have been good for something, I made thee an inspector. And now, how have my orders been obeyed? What, then: wouldst thou lull Mohammed Ali to sleep? Mohammed Ali does not sleep: no, he does not sleep. Therefore, on the receipt of this my order, see that thou comprehend it, and forward the required complement of men; and, should thy contingent of the conscription of the present year, demanded by the Divan of Cairo, be in arrear, let it

be filled up. Use thy utmost exertion to bring in the men to the minister of war without loss of time, otherwise, thy punishment shall serve as an example to the inspectors of the other provinces."

DCCXLVII. Meanwhile, general Muravieff, considering his mission as accomplished, and the Pasha as thoroughly humbled by the threats of Nicholas, had embarked on board the Standard frigate, and only waited for a favourable wind to set sail from Egypt. Here he received an intimation that Mohammed Ali, far from relaxing in his military preparations, had, since the conclusion of their conferences, despatched several new regiments into Syria, which were immediately to be followed by others. Such conduct appeared to require an explanation. Muravieff, therefore, returned on shore, and, proceeding to the palace, which is always accessible, reproached his Highness with want of sincerity, since it had been understood that no additional troops should be sent into Syria until the pending negotiations were at an end. "Oh, replied the Pasha, with his characteristic readiness, I will explain that matter in two words: In Syria I have many officers, who, from deaths in their regiments, have few or no soldiers to command. Here, on the contrary, I had men without any officers to instruct them. It was, therefore, a more economical measure to send these men into Syria, as to a school, than to maintain them here, and create a number of fresh officers on their account." With this explanation the Russian ap-

peared to be satisfied; and Mohammed Ali, perceiving how narrowly his movements were watched, redoubled his activity in urging forward preparations for continuing the war.

DCCXLVIII. Before the departure of general Muravieff, Halil Pasha arrived at Alexandria. He was received with great distinction by Mohammed Ali, who prudently desired to act upon the principle recommended by the Divan — that Egypt and the Porte should settle their dispute between themselves. "It is greatly to be lamented," were his expressions, "that they should call in the Franks to intermeddle with our domestic misunderstandings." Negotiations were accordingly commenced in this spirit, and the result despatched to Constantinople; where the Sultan, with signal bad faith, and still worse policy, was secretly treating with the natural enemies of both parties: but this was what the Pasha had foreseen. In the utter uncertainty of the issue of things, he, therefore, in order to be prepared for the worst, endeavoured, by a characteristic mandate, to hasten the levying of the contributions. "You have already been ordered to send in immediately," he observed, "your contribution for last month. Hitherto it has not arrived. Ramadan is over, and my expectations are still deluded: from this it clearly appears, that you are a negligent blockhead — an ass. But, since you cannot comprehend how urgent it is that the treasury should be supplied, I send you my kawas: on his arrival, let him not be detained one instant;

but remit into his hands the contribution due on the expiration of the month Shaban: for if you either detain my officer, or delay your payments, as soon as it comes to my knowledge, I will tear you to pieces. Now act accordingly: this is my will."

DCCXLIX. Meanwhile, the sufferings of the people, occasioned principally by the vast expenses of the war, had been much augmented by the unusual inclemency of the winter. At Rosetta there was a fall of snow and hail, and at Cairo the frost was so severe as to kill, in Ibrahim Pasha's garden, some of the hardy plants of the north. The weather indeed was exceedingly tempestuous throughout the whole of Lower Egypt, more especially at Alexandria, where, during many days, the whole city was deluged with rain and hail, which poured down night and day, with little or no intermission. The houses of the principal inhabitants, even the Pasha's harem, became almost uninhabitable. Part of the Shoonah, and many other large buildings, fell down, crushing and burying numbers of robust men beneath the ruins. The frail huts of the Arabs, scarcely formed to resist the severity of an ordinary winter, were washed away, or overthrown by the wind; and many children and persons of infirm health perished, through the united rigour of hunger and cold. The Pasha himself, without a dry divan, was moved with compassion for his suffering people. He ordered his vast magazines and all the mosques to be thrown open for their reception, and, at the same

time, commanded the distribution of provisions, fuel, and clothing. In the meanwhile an appeal was made to the charity of the Franks; and, in less than twelve hours, a subscription exceeding ten thousand piastres had been raised. No time was to be lost; but the generous individual who had so successfully appealed to the humanity of the Christian residents, through deference to the government, defeated his own object, by applying to the prime minister, Boghos Bey, to obtain the Pasha's permission for the distribution of the money, supposing the action might otherwise be considered indelicate. During the delay thus occasioned, the rain ceased, the sun appeared again; and the distresses of the Arabs were forgotten. Whether or not the minister ever laid the matter before the Pasha, I am ignorant; but the money raised for the relief of the wretched natives was converted to the use of the Frank hospital.

DCCL. In Europe the political movements of the East were daily beheld with increasing anxiety. France, whose consul had previously been the channel of communication between Mohammed Ali and the Porte, either feeling a deeper interest than the other powers in the affairs of the Levant, or conceiving that it possessed superior influence to compose them, immediately despatched an ambassador to Constantinople. The British government appointed a diplomatic agent to reside permanently at the court of Egypt; and Austria, perceiving that the Pasha despised her menaces, followed reluctantly the ex-

ample of England. Colonel Campbell, the British political agent, made his public entry into Alexandria early in the spring. An Arab guard of honour led the procession; these were followed by the dragomans in their flowing robes, the consul, and ex-consul; a number of naval officers, and the whole body of the British residents were present. The British flag, hoisted on the consulate, was saluted with the cannon of the Great Pharillon; a line-of-battle ship was launched; the harbour was crowded with boats, the shore with long lines of infantry, and French and Arab bands, which executed successively many martial airs. Such were the circumstances which accompanied the agent's march to the palace, where he was received, and admitted to an audience with the Pasha, whom he addressed in a formal speech.

DCCLI. "I have solicited the honour of an audience of your Highness," he observed, "in order to present the commission by which the King, my august sovereign, has appointed me his agent and consul-general in Egypt. His Majesty, my master, has been induced to invest me with this honourable employment, at the court of your Highness, by the persuasion that much reciprocal benefit would accrue from strengthening the relations already existing between his Majesty's dominions and the countries governed by your Highness. And his Majesty expects that your Highness will grant me the enjoyment and exercise of all those privileges, immunities, and prerogatives which have at any time been conceded to the agents and consuls of any other European

power whatever, in any part of the Ottoman empire. I have at the same time the honour to present to your Highness a letter written, at the king's order, by his Majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, expressive of those sentiments of personal respect and esteem which his Majesty entertains for your Highness, as well as the confidence which his Majesty feels that I shall obtain your Highness's support and protection, that I may be enabled to cultivate and maintain the friendship and good understanding which now so happily prevail between the two countries. On my own part, I can assure your Highness that it is my highest happiness to have had the honour of being intrusted with the duty of watching over interests so important; and that I shall have nothing further to desire, should it procure me the flattering advantage of meriting your Highness's esteem and good wishes."

DCCLII. The Pasha, who is perhaps excelled by few in diplomatic eloquence, replied: — "It is extremely flattering and agreeable to his Highness to find that so distinguished a person as Colonel Campbell has been appointed his Britannic Majesty's agent and consul-general in Egypt. His Highness requests you to express to his Majesty the gratitude he feels for the expressions of personal regard and respect which his Majesty has kindly manifested towards him. Nothing can be nearer his Highness's heart than the desire to merit the good will of the British government: and all his efforts shall be directed towards

the maintaining of that good understanding and those friendly relations now subsisting between the two countries. Such being his sentiments, you cannot doubt, that all the privileges and prerogatives ever granted to the agents and consuls of any other European power whatever, shall be conceded to you in their fullest extent." Colonel Prokesch, the Austrian agent, a few days afterwards, arrived with a letter from Prince Metternich, who, seeing the turn which affairs had now taken, ably adapted his expressions to the necessities of the times, expressing his high admiration of his Highness's superior mind, speaking of the commercial and friendly relations existing between Austria and Egypt, and warmly congratulating him on a success which, but a few months before, he had stigmatized as an act of rebellion, odious to Austria, and calculated to provoke her chivalrous vengeance. Even to this manifestation of hypocrisy, however, the Pasha returned a flattering reply; for having deeply studied mankind, he well knows that to appear to be deceived by the artifices of simulation, is, in certain circumstances, prudent and necessary.

DCCLIII. Mohammed Ali, it has already been shown, hesitated not to comply with the demands of general Muravieff, and accordingly issued orders to Ibrahim, now in full march towards the capital, to suspend all military operations. When these commands reached the army, it was already within a short distance of Kutayah, where it halted, and was

put into winter quarters. Meanwhile the Russians, fearing, it was said, that the safety of the capital might be endangered by internal insurrection, while Ibrahim remained in his position, or actuated by ambitious motives, which time will develope, brought down upon Constantinople, — notwithstanding the ready compliance of the Pasha with their demands, — several ships of war, and a considerable army. Whereupon the French ambassador, who had just arrived at his post, remonstrated with the Sultan, requiring that the Russian troops should be withdrawn. Perceiving his ignorance of the real situation of affairs, the Turks, with an astuteness peculiar to Ottoman policy, — but which sometimes over-reaches itself, — endeavoured to mystify him by their reply; and keeping in the back-ground the fact that they had already an ambassador at Alexandria, treating for peace, exacted from him an engagement that Mohammed Ali should be content with the possession of Acre, and the four districts depending on it. This arrangement, unreflectingly entered into, M. Roussin communicated to the Pasha in the following letter, which was received with equal surprise and indignation.

DCCLIV. "Most Illustrious and Magnificent Seigneur, — the government of his Highness, alarmed with good reason at the progress of your son Ibrahim Pasha, and at his equivocal attitude, has accepted, in the last resort, the material aid which Russia has offered. Since then, re-assured by the conciliating

designs of your Highness, it was desirous that this aid should be countermanded; but by one of those fatalities which have more than once presaged political catastrophes, the Russian fleet is arrived, and is found to be anchored in the Bosphorus. In this conjuncture, which seriously compromises the general tranquillity, the first want of Europe, and which places the Ottoman empire in imminent peril, the chances of which must be shared by your Highness, I have undertaken, in conjunction with the Sublime Porte, in the name of the king's government, to induce you to accept the propositions of which Halil Pasha was the bearer, on condition that it should be immediately announced to the Russian envoy, that your reconciliation being effected, the assistance of the Russian squadron would be superfluous, and its presence henceforth without an object. I have therefore to request your Highness, I will not say for the sake of your interest, but for the sake of your safety, to return to your natural relations with the Sublime Porte, and to recall your army without delay within the limits of the territory, the administration of which was confided to you, in addition to the Pashaliks with which you were previously invested, as well as your son Ibrahim Pasha,—those of St. Jean d'Acre, Jerusalem, Tripoli of Syria and Naplouse. Moderation has become to your Highness a matter of necessity, and a persistence in the pretensions which have been put forth will call down upon your head consequences, the disastrous nature of which will, I hope, excite your apprehension. France will

keep the engagement which I have entered into; she has the power, and I am the guarantee of her will. It only remains for me to hope, that you will not reduce us to the cruel extremity of attacking a power which is partly our own work, and of deteriorating a glory, of which I am an admirer. It is my first aide-de-camp who will have the honour of transmitting this paquet to your highness, — permit me to recommend him to your kindness. I subjoin a copy of the letter which I have written at the same time to your son Ibrahim Pasha. I take the opportunity, most Excellent and Magnificent Seigneur, of renewing to you the assurance of my high consideration."*

DCCLV. Admiral Roussin, a novice in Eastern politics, and evidently ignorant of the real intentions of his own government, transmitted, at the same time, the following letter to Ibrahim Pasha: — "Most Excellent and Magnificent Seigneur, — You will see by the contents of the subjoined letter, which I have addressed to his Highness the Viceroy of Egypt, your Illustrious Father, the recital of the disastrous events which have occurred at Constantinople, as well as the exposé of their inevitable consequences. Under the penalty of seeing the Ottoman Empire become the prey of the Russians, a powerful nation must interfere with all its weight, in order to destroy the pretext of an invasion which would convulse all

* The Vice-Admiral Roussin, Peer of France, Ambassador to the Sublime Porte, to his Highness Mohammed Ali Pasha, Viceroy of Egypt. Therapia, Palace of France, February 22.

Europe.—This powerful nation is France,—it is France supported by the consent of England,—France whom the Viceroy of Egypt has long ranked among his chief friends, and who, under those circumstances, has a right to reckon on his deference.—I do not for a moment doubt, Magnificent Seigneur, the frank and immediate co-operation which you will give to the execution of this project. According to the engagement which I have entered into in the name of my government, peace ought to be considered as concluded between Egypt and the Porte, on the condition of the investure of the four governments of St. Jean d'Acre, Naplouse, Tripoli of Syria, and Jerusalem. No modification whatever can be made in these terms: all discussion must cease on this subject, and hostilities must be put an end to immediately. — I pray you, therefore, Magnificent Seigneur, to take care that your army does not advance a single step; but still further, to cause it to retrograde in such a manner, that it may place itself on the territory which has been conceded to Egypt. This movement is indispensable, in order to point out to the population that the war, from which they have suffered too much, is at length terminated. — My aide-de-camp, the bearer of this letter, has orders to bring me your answer without delay. I have the honour of praying your Highness not to defer transmitting it to him."

DCCLVI. From these menacing communications, which, in Egypt, were regarded with general

derision, it seemed to Mohammed Ali that, through the sluggish character of European policy, the prize contended for would ultimately be awarded to the most obstinate. His reply was, accordingly, conceived in a style calculated to convey the idea that he possessed some claim to this qualification. United with an evident apprehension of the power of France, it moreover exhibits, as if in spite of the writer, a fierce and angry spirit, chafed at meeting with opposition where it probably anticipated the warmest support: — "Monsieur l'Ambassadeur,—I have received the despatch dated February 22d, which you have forwarded to me by your principal aide-de-camp. This despatch intimates that I have no right to claim any other territory than St. Jean d'Acre, Jerusalem, Naplouse, and Tripoli in Syria, and that I ought immediately to withdraw my army; and that in case of refusal I shall expose myself to the most serious consequences. Your aide-de-camp, according to the instructions which you have given him, has added verbally, that if I persist in my pretensions, the combined French and English fleets will proceed to the coast of Egypt. — Pray, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, how have you the right to call on me to sacrifice myself thus? I have in my favour the whole nation. It only rests with me to raise up Roumelia and Anatolia. United with my nation, I could effect much. Master of so many countries — victorious at all points — when I heard the organs of public opinion decree to me all Syria, I retarded the march of my troops with the sole view of sparing an

useless effusion of blood, and of consulting the dispositions of European policy. In recompence for this and for the moderation I have shown, and after so many sacrifices for a nation that had invited me, which had united itself with me, and enabled me to obtain so many victories — to demand of me now the abandonment of the country which I occupy, and that I shall withdraw my army into a small province composed of four districts, which you call Pashaliks — is not this pronouncing against me a sentence of political death? — But I feel confident that France and England will not deny me justice. They will acknowledge my rights. Their honour is opposed to this step. But, if I am unhappily deceived in this expectation, I will submit myself, under such circumstances, to the will of God; and, preferring an honourable death to ignominy, joyfully devote myself to the cause of my nation, happy to consecrate to it the last breath of my life. Upon this I am determined, and history offers more than one example of a similar immolation. — Under all circumstances, I hope your Excellency will recognise the justice of my rights, and recommend the acceptance of the last propositions which I have made through the medium of his Excellency Halil Pasha. — It is with this expectation, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, that I write you this friendly letter, and forward it through the medium of your aide-de-camp."* — At the same time the

* Seal of Mohammed Ali, Pasha of Egypt. To his Excellency Baron Roussin, Ambassador of France at the Sublime Porte. Alexandria, March 8. 1833.

Pasha adopted a high tone in his negotiations with the Porte; and the result of his firmness and diplomatic ability was, that the guns were firing, in commemoration of the conclusion of an advantageous peace, on the day of my departure from Alexandria.*

* As no event could possibly be more auspicious to Egypt than this pacification, accompanied by comparative independence, it was celebrated by the people with striking demonstrations of joy. The news arrived three days previous to my departure. A general illumination for eight successive days was immediately commanded by the Pasha; and never, perhaps, were his orders more cheerfully obeyed. On the first evening of the rejoicings, I accompanied Mrs. Barker, and a portion of her family, to the palace. The streets and bazārs, in every part of the city, were lighted up, and, in many cases, with considerable taste and effect. Throughout the whole Turkish quarter, the shops exhibited an unusually gay appearance, the merchandise of all kinds being neatly arranged, and the shopkeepers attired in their best apparel. On arriving at the Ras el Tīn, we found the large open space in front of the palace occupied by an immense multitude, with large bodies of military drawn up in line along the external wall of the harem, and the public offices. The numerous gateways, arches, kiosks, &c. were hung with lamps, which cast a brilliant light on the moving crowds below. Leaving our beasts and attendants in the court, we ascended to the roof of Boghos Bey's palace, whence, without being incommoded by the multitude, we could command a view over the whole city, whose extent was marked by innumerable fires. All the ships being tastefully lighted up from the deck to the mast-head with sparkling lamps, and extending in long lines from shore to shore, the harbour constituted the most splendid portion of the spectacle, appearing, in the darkness of the night, like some fairy scene, where myriads of brilliant reflexes trembled on the bosom of the sea. The rockets, and other species of fireworks, were let off in great abundance; and the numerous troops assembled in front of the palace kept up a loud irregular discharge of musketry; but there was otherwise extreme silence. Looking down into the spacious area beneath our feet, we beheld, by the deep-red light of the bursting rockets, and magnificent fireworks, many thousand people moving to and fro; but there were none of our European demonstrations of popular joy, no cheering, no loud huzzas. Even in this moment of pleasurable excitement, the hereditary influence of despotism was visible. It would, no doubt, have been regarded as a mark of disrespect to the Pasha and his harem, had the populace evinced their satisfaction at the successful termination of the war by shouts, clamours, and boisterous merriment.

CHAPTER XXIII.

DISQUISITION CONCERNING THE ORIGIN OF THE PYRAMIDS — ANCIENT HYPOTHESES SHOWN TO BE UNFOUNDED — TRADITIONS AND LEGENDS OF THE ARABS — THE PYRAMIDS PROVED TO BE TEMPLES OF THE CELESTIAL VENUS — ORIGIN OF THE WORSHIP OF THIS GODDESS — TRANSMITTED WESTWARD FROM INDIA INTO ASSYRIA, PALESTINE, ARABIA, EGYPT, AND GREECE — CHARACTER OF ITS ORGIES — MYSTERIOUS SYMBOLS — NAMES OF VENUS — MYSTERIES OF ELEUSIS — INNOVATIONS OF CHEOPS — CLOSING OF THE OTHER TEMPLES — BUILDING OF THE PYRAMIDS — IMMORAL RITES — FLAGITIOUS CONDUCT OF CHEOPS — SECTS OF MOUNT LEBANON — TRADITIONS OF THE EGYPTIANS — KINGS NOT INTERRED IN THE PYRAMIDS — WORSHIP OF THE COW — LEGEND OF MYCERINUS AND HIS DAUGHTER — BONES FOUND IN THE SOROS — MYSTIC SIGNIFICATION OF THE TRIANGLE — TESTIMONY OF THE ANCIENTS — SESOSTRIS — MARGARET QUEEN OF DENMARK — VISHNU AND BHAVANI — WORSHIP OF THE LOTUS — THE BULL GOD APIS — MOTHER OF THE UNIVERSE — MEANING OF THE PYRAMIDAL FORM — WORSHIP OF THE KTEIS — THE PAPHIAN VENUS — MAXIMUS TYRIUS — TACITUS — ANCIENT PAINTINGS AND COINS — BAAL AND ASTARTÉ — VARIOUS PYRAMIDAL IDOLS — APOLLO — JUPITER — NATURE — TRADITIONS OF THE SABÆANS AND HINDOOS — IDOLS OF JAGGANNAT'H — CONICAL IMAGES FOUND IN GREECE — INDIAN RITES — WORSHIP OF THE CREATIVE POWER — PERUVIANS WORSHIPPED THE PYRAMID — THE PLANET VENUS — TESTIMONY OF THE BRAHMINS — GODDESS OF THE LOTUS — TEMPLES OF BHAVANI — RECAPITULATION — CONCLUSION.

DCCLVII. HAVING completed my account of modern Egypt, I shall here enter briefly into the investigation of a question connected with its principal antiquities, — the origin and purpose of the pyramids.* The hypotheses advanced on the subject

* On a former occasion, in my "Lives of Celebrated Travellers," vol. ii. p. 19., I slightly glanced at the theory here more fully developed.

by the learned are already numerous; some regarding them as observatories, others as tombs*, and others, again, as treasuries, or granaries.† In support

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Dr. Shaw, with his usual sagacity, rejects the idea of their being tombs; but, not thoroughly investigating the question, seems content, like Du Pauw, to regard them as fire-temples. — *Travels*, &c. pp. 407. 410. 420.

* Among the modern supporters of the sepulchral theory, the most distinguished is the learned Greaves. — "That these pyramids were intended for sepulchres and monuments of the dead," says he, "is the constant opinion of most authors, which have writ of this argument. Diodorus expressly tells us, that Chemmis and Cephren, although they designed these two greater for their sepulchres, *yet it happened that neither of them were buried in them.* Strabo judges all those near Memphis to have been the sepulchres of kings; and, in particular, he calls another, near the Lake of Mœris, the sepulchre of Ismandes. To which also the writings of the Arabians are consonant, who make the three greater the monuments of Samid, Hougib, and Hasfarinoun. And the Sabæans, the first of them the sepulchre of Seth, the second of Hermes, the third of Sab, the son of Hermes, from whom they suppose themselves denominated Sabæans. And if none of these authorities were extant, yet the tomb found in the greatest pyramid puts it out of controversy. Which may further be confirmed by the testimony of Ibn Abd Alokin, an Arabian, where he discourses of the wonders of Egypt, who relates, that after Al Mamon, the Khalif of Babylon, had caused this pyramid to be opened (about 800 years since), they found in it towards the top a chamber with an hollow stone, in which there was a statue of a man, and within it a man, upon whom was a breast-plate of gold, set with jewels; upon his breast was a sword of inestimable price, and at his head a carbuncle of the bigness of an egg, shining like the light of day, and upon him were characters writ with a pen, which no man understood."—*Pyramidographia, &c.*, p. 39—41. But Greaves seems to have overlooked the fact, that the great pyramid was certainly open in the time of the Romans. He was mistaken, also, in supposing that the existence of a sarcophagus put the matter "out of controversy," since it would first be necessary to determine the use of the sarcophagus; and of this, indeed, he is himself convinced; for had he supposed the question settled by the presence of the soros, he would scarcely have thought it necessary to cite the marvellous relation of the Arab in support of his opinion.

† The extreme improbability of this fancy is exposed by Sir Thomas Browne. "More plainly may they mistake," says he, "who, from

of these several opinions, much erudition and ingenuity might, no doubt, be displayed; but, if thoroughly examined, they will, perhaps, be found all equally destitute of foundation. I shall not devote many arguments, however, to the refutation of these theories; but content myself with proving that the pyramids were designed for a purpose not contemplated by any one of them. That they were not observatories is abundantly evident from the circumstance of their having been originally covered with a coating of cement, a portion of which still remains on the upper part of the second, so smooth and slippery as when perfect to render the ascent to the apex utterly impracticable. Besides, it is not at all likely that twelve or thirteen observatories should have been erected close to each other. The same argument applies to the third hypothesis. Whence could have arisen the necessity for a city of treasuries? Indeed, the inference to be drawn from the history of their founders is, that when the edifices were completed they had no treasures left to deposit in them. And would the skirts of the desert, exposed to the incursions of the Bedouins, have been selected as the safest position for such structures? The idea that they are sepulchral monuments is much more consonant with the habits and character of the Egyptians, who regarded death as a species of slumber, from

some analogy of name, (as if pyramid were derived from πύρον, *triticum*,) conceive the Egyptian pyramids to have been built for granaries; or look for any settled monuments about the deserts erected for that intention; since their store-houses were made in the great towns, according to Scripture expression." — *Observations upon several Plants mentioned in Scripture*, p. 14. — *Genesis*, xli. 48.

which the body, when carefully preserved, was to be ultimately awakened, and re-united with its ancient possessor. I proceed, however, to show why I regard this hypothesis also as unfounded, though supported by the learning and research of the most able and laborious antiquarians. But in combating these decisions I would by no means be understood to undervalue or disparage the general character of their authors. Our predecessors, however, were no less liable than ourselves to error. Indeed, had their views been invariably correct on all points, nothing would be left for us but to adopt, with blind deference, the whole of their theories in their various ramifications.

DCCLVIII. For what purpose, then, were the pyramids erected? As temples, sacred to that mysterious power by whose agency the principle of life is transmitted from one being to another; known, in the ancient pagan world, by various names: — Bhavani*, Parvati, or Padma-devi in Hindoostan; Mylitta in Assyria; Mithra in Persia; Ashtaroth or Astarté in Syria; Alilat or Beltha in Arabia; Athor in Egypt; Aphrodite in Greece; and Venus in Italy.

* Bhavani bears the same rank and character in the mythology of Hindoostan, as Athor in Egypt, and the Celestial Venus in Greece. — *Asiat. Research.* iii. 167. — *Creuzer, Rel. de l'Antiq.* l. i. c. 2. Cicero enumerates four goddesses, denominated Venus by the ancients; but he identifies the fourth only with Astarte: — "Quarta, Syria Tyroque concepta, quæ Astarte vocatur; quam Adonidi nupsisse proditum est." — *De Nat. Deor.* iii. 23. — *Cf. Pausan.* i. 14. — *St. Ambros. adv. Symmach.* l. ii. ap. *Larcher, Mém. sur Vénus,* p. 12. — *Daniel. Heins. Lection. Theocrit.* p. 345.

Though it would be highly unphilosophical to suppose that any ancient nation received its whole system of religion from another, it appears to have been altogether consistent with their practice occasionally to admit a new divinity into their Pantheon; a very curious example of which occurred in Egypt, under the Ptolemies, where Serapis, a god of northern extraction, was formally imported, and engrafted on the national superstition. The worship of Venus seems, in like manner, to have migrated from one country to another, commencing in the East*, — that inexhaustible storehouse of mythologies, — and following the footsteps of the earliest colonies of mankind.

DCCLIX. At what period the external and public adoration of this goddess passed westward from India, its mother country, history enables us not to determine. It should be remarked, however, that, in its various removes, it underwent numerous modifications; assuming, in some countries, an exalted spiritual form, degenerating, in others, into lewd and degrading orgies; but everywhere distinguished by a certain mystic veil which concealed its character and object from the vulgar. The nature

* Asiatic Researches, i. 250, 251. 254. — The united symbol of Siva and Bhavani is thus described: — "Another image of Siva is the Lingam, a smooth black stone, *almost in the form of a sugarloaf*, with a projection at the base like the mouth of a spoon." — *Ward, on the Religion of the Hindoos*, iii. 11, 12. The projection at the base is the yoni. In India, there are innumerable temples containing this double figure, and the women form it morning and evening with the clay of the Ganges. — *Id.* p. 12, 13.

and attributes of the Goddess herself were differently represented in different regions. Some regarded her as the air; others, as the water; and others again, as fire, or earth: but those competent to give a philosophical interpretation to the fable, understood by the Θεὰ πολυωνυμος *, the passive vivifying principle, or the energy of nature, by which the harmony and beauty of the universe, the succession of rational beings, animals, and plants, and even of the immortal Gods themselves, were produced and preserved. This is the point of view in which she was contemplated by the Assyrians, who denominated her Mylitta, or Genetrix; and her Persian and Arabian names had likewise the same signification.† From Assyria, which probably received the worship of Venus directly from India, the rites and ceremonies connected with it passed into Phœnicia, and were thence diffused through Cyprus and Greece.‡ In all probability, it was transmitted through the same channel into Arabia.

DCCLX. The Egyptians, surrounded by nations devoted to the worship of Venus Genetrix, could not long remain uninfluenced by their example. Mysteries§ of every kind were congenial to their character;

* *Theocrit. Idyll.*, xv. 109.

† *Selden de Düs Syris, Synt.* ii. 2.— *Herod.* i. 131. iii. 8.— *Macrob. Saturnal.* i. 21.— *Stanley, Hist. of Philosoph.*, p. 27, 28.

‡ Pausan. i. 14.— Larcher, Mémoire sur Vénus, p. 11.

§ In the mysteries of Eleusis it was the Phallus, according to Tertullian, that received the adoration of the initiated. This, however, is wholly improbable, being, as Castellanus observes, altogether at variance

more especially those calculated to inflame the passions, to foster voluptuousness, to communicate a new sting to sensuality, under the semblance of religion. Cheops, therefore, becoming a proselyte to the new religion, determined, in spite of the priests, to introduce it into Egypt. He proceeded even farther than this; for, not content with obtaining toleration for his own novel divinity, whose adoration was connected with wanton rites, secret processions, exciting orgies, and obscene symbols, — all eminently agreeable to his people, — he opposed the worship of the popular fetish gods; — rams, goats, fishes, and serpents; and thus excited the wrath of their ministers, who, in narrating his actions to Herodotus, were incapable of restraining the hatred they still bore his memory. "I was informed by the same priests," says the historian, "that, till the reign of Rhampsinitus, Egypt was not only remarkable for its abundance, but for its excellent laws. Cheops, who succeeded this prince, degenerated into the extremest profligacy of conduct. He barred the avenues to every temple, and forbad the Egyptians to offer sacrifices; he next proceeded to make them labour servilely for himself."* Here the purpose of the pyramids is clearly indicated.

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with the mythus. "At Theodoretus naturæ muliebris imaginem arcanis orgiis celari prodidit. Idque magis convenit fabulæ quam Clemens refert, et, ex eo, Arnobius." Both these fathers relate the story of Ceres and Baubo at great length, and subjoin certain Orphic verses, graphically descriptive of the circumstance which gave rise to the mysteries. — Conf. *Castellanus, de Festis Græcorum*, p. 143, 144.

* Herodot., l. ii. c. 124.

Had the intention of Cheops been merely to build himself a tomb, where would have been the necessity of closing the temples, and prohibiting the offering of the ordinary sacrifices? Between the construction of a sepulchre, and the abolishing of the popular worship, the connection is not very apparent. And wherefore should the priests have dwelt upon the profligacy of his conduct? The building of the Labyrinth, and the vast palaces and temples of Memphis and Thebes, required an almost equal prodigality of labour and expense; yet no profligacy was imputed to their founders.

DCCLXI. But the religion attempted to be introduced by Cheops was distinguished, in various countries, by extreme moral turpitude*; though, among a people like the Egyptians, whose superstition countenanced the Mendesian enormities, such a circumstance would rather have been regarded as a recommendation. "Every woman," observes Herodotus, in speaking of Babylon, "who is a native of the country, is obliged once in her life to attend at

* See Stanley, Hist. of Philosophy, p. 23. — "Plusieurs nations ont eu l'idée bizarre d'obliger les jeunes filles à immoler, en honneur d'une divinité, et par une sorte de prostitution sacrée, ce tresor qui, aux yeux des Européens, et de la plupart des peuples, constitue la dot la plus précieuse." "Les Phéniciens paraissent avoir eu des fêtes religieuses, desquelles la prostitution des femmes de tout rang faisait partie." — *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, ii. 173. — *Extrait d'une Dissertation de Heyne. Ann. des Voy.*; xi. 361. The same practice prevailed in Armenia, where the sacrifice took place in the temple of Anaïtis. Similar rites still subsist in the Philippine Islands, on the Gold Coast, in Brazil, in Tahiti, and in Tibet. — Conf. *Marco Polo*, l. i. c. 37. ii. 38.

the temple of Venus, and prostitute herself to a stranger."* A similar custom prevailed in Syria, Phœnicia†, Cyprus, and Africa; and is still found in various parts of Tartary. Cheops, evidently desirous of leading his subjects into the practices of their neighbours, and prepared, like a thorough enthusiast, to act up to his creed, began by setting them an example. "Having exhausted his wealth," says Herodotus, "he was so flagitious that he prostituted his daughter, commanding her to make the most of her person. She complied with her father's injunctions, but I was not told what sum she thus procured; at the same time she took care to perpetuate the memory of herself; with which view she solicited every one of her lovers to present her with a stone. With these it is reported the middle of the three pyramids, fronting the larger one, was constructed."‡

* Lib. i. c. 199. — "The women also, with cords about them, sitting in the ways, burn bran for perfume. But if any of them, drawn by some that passeth by, lie with him, she reproacheth her fellow, that she was not thought as worthy as herself, nor her cord broken. — *Baruch.* xi. 42.

† It is said to have been abolished by Constantine at *Heliopolis and Aphaka. Euseb. Vit. Constantini*, lib. iii. c. 58. — *Socrat. Hist. Eccles.*, l. i. c. 18. — But the worship still prevails in Mount Lebanon. "The Ansarians are divided into several tribes or sects, among which we distinguish the Shamsia, or adorers of the sun; the Kelbia, or worshippers of the dog; and the Kadmousia, who, as I am assured, pay a particular homage to that part in women which corresponds to the Priapus. — *Volney, Travels in Syria and Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 5. — On the Shamsia sect, see *Hyde, Hist. Rel. Vet. Persar.*, p. 523.

‡ Lib. ii. c. 126. — Valerius Maximus, after praising the Hindoo women who performed *sati* (burned themselves), adds, — "Cui gloriæ Pœnicarum fœminarum, ut ex comparatione turpius appareat, dedecus subnectam. Siccæ enim fanum est Veneris, in quod se matronæ con-

If these stones were designed to erect a temple to Venus, there was something rational in the request; but nothing more preposterous can be conceived than a courtesan demanding, as the price of her favours, a stone for her tomb. Having described the labours of Cephrenes, in the same pious work, the historian adds: — "Thus for the space of one hundred and six years the Egyptians were exposed to every species of oppression and calamity, not having, in all this period, permission to worship in their temples."*

DCCLXII. Though Herodotus mentions a tradition, according to which the body of Cheops was interred in the Great Pyramid, he could not have regarded the work of Cephrenes as a tomb; since he observes that "it has no subterraneous chambers."† When Diodorus visited Egypt, the priests had manufactured a different tradition, more consonant, perhaps, with historical truth, though still associated with the erroneous idea of a sepulchre. "The kings," he observes, "designed these pyramids for their sepulchres, yet it happened that their remains were not here deposited. The people were so exasperated against them, by the severe labours they had been compelled to endure; and were so enraged

ferebant; atque inde procedentes ad quæstum, dotes, corporis injuria contrahebant, honesta nimirum tam inhonesto vinculo conjugia jungeturæ."— Lib. II. c. vi. § 15.

* Herodotus, l. ii. c. 127.

† In this he was mistaken, or, rather, misinformed by the priests, as the labours of Belzoni have demonstrated.

at the oppressive cruelty of their princes, that they threatened to take their bodies from their tombs, and cast them to the dogs. Both of them, therefore, when dying, ordered their relatives to bury them in some secret place." Upon this passage it may be remarked, that it is absurd to suppose a people who tamely submitted to despotism during fifty years, — for so long did Cheops reign, — should have ventured, a little before his death, to utter so insulting a menace. But, admitting this to be possible, what should induce them, immediately on the accession of Cephrenes, to return to their servile mood, and submit, during other fifty-six years, to the same oppressive cruelty? Little, I imagine, was to be apprehended from a nation who had been deprived for more than a century of the exercise of their ancient superstitions by the fanatical founders of a new sect, without making a single effort, which history has thought worth recording, in behalf of their temples and household gods.

DCCLXIII. We, however, discover, from the relation of Diodorus, that, whatever was the original design of the pyramids, the bodies of the founders were never deposited in them; for the testimony of the Arabian writer, cited by Greaves, who pretends that a human mummy was found in the sarcophagus, is conceived in too marvellous a style to be worthy of the slightest credit. But, since there is a sarcophagus still existing in what is commonly termed the King's Chamber, is it not probable that it was

designed for the reception of a mummy? I conceive it to have been placed there expressly for the purpose of containing an embalmed body, though not that of a man. Venus, it is well known, was worshipped in Egypt, — as she is still in India, — under the form of a cow*; and this sacred animal, adored, during life, as the living material representative of the divinity, the slayer of which, even by accident, incurred the guilt and the punishment of sacrilege, was embalmed, when dead, with the utmost cost and magnificence, and interred in some holy depository. Even her image, regarded as the chosen symbol of Athor, the Goddess of Fecundity, conveyed an idea of sanctity and beatitude beyond mere mortal existence. Mycerinus, the successor of Cephrenes, being actuated by a less fanatical spirit, allowed the ordinary temples to be thrown open, though he continued to uphold the doctrines of the new sect, and erected a pyramid to Athor. When, however, his only daughter had been snatched from him by death, and he conceived the design of honouring her by a funeral more than ordinarily sumptuous and splendid, it was not in the pyramid that her beloved remains were placed. "He enclosed her body in a heifer made of wood, and richly ornamented with gold. This heifer was not buried; it remained even to my time, in the palace of Sais, placed in a superb hall.

* In the mysterious language of the Brahmins, the cow, as the symbol of Bhavani, is declared to be the "Mother of the Gods." — *Ward, Religion, &c. of the Hindoos*, iii. 196. — Cf. *Jablonski, de Orig. Cultûs Taurorum.* Vide et *Panth. Ægypt.*, i. 4. 27. 163.

Every day costly aromatics were burned before it, and every night it was splendidly illuminated. The body of this heifer is covered with a purple cloth, whilst the head and neck are very richly gilt: between the horns there is a golden star; it is made to recline on its knees, and is about the size of a large cow. Every year it is brought from its apartment; at the period when the Egyptians flagellate themselves in honour of a certain god whom it does not become me to name, this heifer is produced to the light; it was the request, they say, of the dying princess to her father, that she might once every year behold the sun." * In this narration we discover respect for the deceased princess artfully blended with the worship of Athor, which ultimately prevailed, and was diffused over the whole land of Egypt.

* Herodotus, l. ii. c. 129—132. — In the editions of Herodotus by Gronovius and Wesseling, there is an engraving, supposed by several writers to represent this cow. Bryant, however, considered it to be a bull; and on this mistake, — for the head is clearly that of a cow, — "Larcher," says Beloe, "is very severe on Mr. Bryant." But, "how Larcher found out that this print represents a cow, and not a bull, does not appear." The French translator probably examined it more minutely than Mr. Beloe, who adds, — "Besides all this, Herodotus does not say that he saw either bull or heifer. He says, indeed, that it remained to his time, but that he relates only what he was told." It is scarcely credible that this was written by a man who had translated Herodotus; for, though the historian does not say, in so many words, that he saw the cow, he makes us clearly understand that he did, by observing, — "In an adjoining apartment are deposited statues of the different concubines of Mycernius. I myself saw the hands lying on the ground, merely, as I thought, from the effect of time." ii. 131. Now, being in this apartment which contained the concubines, it is to be presumed that he stepped into the next, containing the cow.

DCCLXIV. I have observed above, that the sarcophagi in the pyramids were probably designed to receive the embalmed body of a cow; and in the one opened by Belzoni, among a quantity of earth and rubbish, bones were found, which, on being conveyed to London, were declared to be those of a bull; but, perhaps, the examiners were led to this decision by being more familiar with Apis than with Athor. At all events, the pyramids were destined to contain the mummy of the female animal, the living symbol of that power whose nature they mystically signified by their external configuration. Each face of the perfect pyramid represents an equilateral triangle, with its base on the earth, and its apex pointing heavenward. Under this form, which represents the *κτεὶς γυναικεῖος*, or Yoni, Venus has been worshipped, from the remotest antiquity, in Hindoostan, and various other countries of the East. The rudeness of the representation, and the very distant resemblance of the idol to the thing typified, by no means invalidate our inference, which is founded on innumerable authorities, whose testimony it would be impossible to reject or disparage. In India and Greece, the idols and towers erected in honour of the Phallus, were likewise imperfect in their shape; rendered so, not from decorum, — for no man regards his god as an object of shame, — but through the inability of the artists to produce any thing superior; and afterwards, when time had cast over the rough primitive idol the hue and appearance of antiquity, it was venerated for the ages it had endured, and

imitated, as far as possible, in consequence of this very veneration. Thus the triangle *, the delta, the pyramid, the cone, and the oblong circlet, infinitely varied and modified in different ages and countries, retained under every change their original typical signification, and were regarded with religious awe and reverence, as symbols of the passive power of nature, by which every thing that breathes the breath of life is projected into existence.

DCCLXV. As the phallus, therefore, was worshipped as the symbol of the Ἔρως πρωτογόνος, the spirit or intellect, which "brooded o'er the vast abyss, and made it pregnant," so the kteis, or yoni, received adoration as the generative power of nature, by the concurrence of whose passive energy the universe was warmed into life and motion. † To describe the rites and ceremonies by which this worship was accompanied in various countries, forms no por-

* Several antiquarians confound the symbols of the *saktis*, or female powers of the divinities, with the symbols of the divinities themselves. Thus, the conical emblem of Astarté has been mistaken for that of Baal. — *Hamaker, Miscel. Phœnic.*, p. 119. In India, also, careless investigators have fallen into the same error. "Bacchus, or Osiris, was represented by an equilateral triangle; Siva has the same hieroglyphic: the worship of Bacchus was the same as that which is paid to Siva; it had the same obscenities, the same bloody rites, and the same emblem of the generative power." *Paterson, Asiat. Res.* viii. 50. But Osiris was not represented by the triangle, which was the symbol of Athor, or Venus. *Porphyr. ap Euseb. Præp. Evan.* iii. 98.

† St. Augustin. De Civitate Dei, l. vi. c. 9.—"Ob hoc Libero eamdem virilem corporis partem in templo poni, fœmineam Liberæ." *i.e.* Veneri. —*Vide et* l. vii. c. 20. B. —— Καὶ προσέτι τῆς Θέμιδος τὰ ἀπόῤῥητα σύμβολα, ὀρίγανον, λύχνος, ξίφος, κτεὶς γυναικεῖος· ὃ ἐστὶν, εὐφήμως καὶ μυστικῶς εἰπεῖν, μόριον γυναικεῖον. *Clem. Alexand. Cohort. ad Gentes*, i. 19. ed. Oxon. 1715.

tion of my present design; which is not to amuse the imagination by gay images and florid pictures, but to pursue a question of dry antiquarian research, destitute of every charm, but that of exciting or gratifying curiosity. That the generative power of nature received, under the name of Venus, the adoration of the Pagan world, is universally known, however, and admitted. It only remains, therefore, to inquire whether the triangle, or the pyramid, which is a figure triangular on all sides, was regarded by the ancients as a symbol of the feminine nature. Winckelmann *, speaking of the warlike trophies erected by the Egyptians, in the several countries they subdued, observes,—"Nous ignorons, si les Hermès caracterisés par la nature feminine, et érigés par Sésostris dans les pays qu'il avait conquis sans resistance, avaient été figurés de la même manière; ou si, pour indiquer le sexe, ils avaient un triangle, par lequel les Egyptiens avoient coûtume de le dessiner." † Perhaps, however, the barbarous conqueror, if his wars are to be regarded as historical events, did not condescend to adopt the language of symbol, since, according to Diodorus, the αἰδοῖον ἀνδρὸς was sculptured, in its natural form, on the pillars of the brave. ‡

* Hist. de l'Art, &c. t. i. p. 8.

† On the symbolical signification of the triangle, see likewise *D'Hancarville, Recherches sur les Arts, &c.* t. i. p. 178, 179. — And *Hyde, Hist. Rel. Vet. Persar.* p. 115.

‡ *Conf. Joseph. Ant. Jud.* l. viii. 10. 3. — *Herod.* ii. 102. — Margaret, Queen of Denmark, who succeeded her husband Haquin, in 1376, having subdued the Swedes, exercised the most tyrannical sway over them; "addunt, in dedecus quoque gentis suæ, et veluti socordiam exprobando viris; ea parte, quam in fœminis natura tectam vult, num-

DCCLXVI. The same symbol was adopted by different nations to express the same idea; but among no people, perhaps, was it reproduced so frequently, or with so much variety and so many modifications, as among the Egyptians.—Everywhere on their monuments it makes a conspicuous figure, generally in connection with female divinities supposed to preside over the production of living beings; more particularly Athor and Isis; the former the Goddess of the vivifying power, the latter of maternity. In all cases it is emblematical of the sex.* Nature itself, in the opinion of the Orientals, has impressed this mysterious figure on the bosom of the lotus†; whence the religious adoration of that flower in India and Egypt. The generative influence of the sun was represented, in symbolical language, by a bull. But in the mythology, and mystic philosophy of the Egyptians, the female power was supposed to be of more efficacy than the male,—whence the superior influence of women in civil society,—and Apis himself was worshipped less on his own account, than for the sacred figure of

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mum signasse."—*Pontanus, Rer. Danicar. Hist.* fol. p. 544, 545. edit. 1631.—*Elias Brennerus, Thesaur. Numm. Suegoth.* p. 20. Tab. iii.

* "Vishnu and Prit'thivi (Venus) are severally typified by an equilateral triangle (which likewise gives an idea of capacity), and conjointly, when their powers are supposed to be combined, by two such equal triangles intersecting each other."—*Asiatic Researches*, i. 135.

† "The Indians commonly represent this mystery of their physiological religion by the emblem of a nymphæa or lotus, floating like a boat on the boundless ocean; where the whole plant signifies both the earth and the two principles of its fecundation; the germ is both Meru and the lingam; the petals and filaments are the mountains, which encircle Meru, and are also a type of the yoni."—*Asiat. Res.* i. 134.

the yoni or delta which he bore upon his forehead. "This Apis, or Epaphus, is the calf of a cow which can have no more young. The Egyptians say that on this occasion the cow is struck with lightning, from which she conceives and brings forth Apis. The young one so produced, and thus named, is known by certain marks: the skin is black, but on its forehead is a white star of a triangular form."* Plutarch accounts differently for the production of Apis. "The priests," he observes, "affirm that the moon sheds a generative light, with which, should a cow wanting the bull be struck, she conceives Apis, who bears the sign of that planet." And Larcher, a diligent antiquarian, remarks that this taurine divinity was sacred to the moon, whose influence over the production of living beings was believed as an article of faith among the ancients. †

DCCLXVII. It appears to have been inconsistent with the character of many ancient nations, — among which the Egyptians may be regarded as the chief, —

* Herodotus, l. iii. c. 28. — In the common text of this historian we find λευκὸν τετράγωνον; but Beloe has very properly adopted the reading approved by Jablonski, (Panth. Ægypt. l. iv. c. 2.) Wesseling, Diss. Herodot. p. 175., and Valckenaer; which substitutes λευκόν τι τρίγωνον, in accordance with all existing monuments. I have elsewhere described a figure of Apis with the triangle on the forehead.—Vol. i. p. 21.

† "Ipse Sol mundum omnem suâ luce compleat, ab eoque Luna inluminata graviditates et partus adferat maturitatesque gignendi. Quæ copulatio rerum, et quam consentinens ad mundi incolumitatem coagmentatio naturæ, quem non movet; hunc horum nihil unquam reputavisse certo scio." — *Cicero, De Naturâ Deorum*, l. ii. c. 46. p. 216. ed. Davis.

to express the philosophical truths with which they were acquainted, in a plain manner, intelligible to the apprehension of all men; symbols and mystery, like sauce and condiments in cookery, communicating to knowledge a superior relish, adapted to the palate of intellectual epicures. According to their system of physiology, the female principle exercises a more important influence than the male in the transmission and origination of animal life: for which reason Isis was superior in honour to Osiris; and Athor, as "Mother of the Universe," to all the Gods of their Pantheon. It was, therefore, perfectly natural they should adore the female divinities with extraordinary fervour and enthusiasm. But they were anthropomorphites. The deities of their imagination all wore the human form; and selecting, from the figures of their Goddesses, the characteristic κατ' ἐξοχὴν of their feminine nature, which had, perhaps, been represented from time immemorial by the triangle or delta*, they erected this mystic symbol as at once a temple and an idol. Such is the origin of the Pyramids, which consist of four prodigious triangles, placed on a quadrangular basis, and inclined so as to form a support to each other. Writers little ac-

* "Πυραμίδας δὲ καὶ ὀβελίσκους τῇ πυρὸς οὐσίᾳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς Ὀλυμπιοῖς Θεοῖς· ὥσπερ αὖ κῶνον μὲν Ἡλίῳ, Γῇ δὲ κύλινδρον, σπορᾷ δὲ καὶ γενέσει φάλητα, καὶ τὸ τρίγωνον σχῆμα, διὰ τὸ μόριον τῆς θηλείας."— *Euseb. Præpar. Evang.* l. iii. p. 98. D. edit. Par. 1628. — Conf. *Caylus, Récueil d'Antiquit.* t. i. p. 43.— Ægypti figura traditur esse τρίγωνον et δελτωτὸν, *Eratostheni Catast.* c. 20.— *Theoni ad Arati Phænom.* v. 235. ap. *Valckenaer. ad Herodot.* iii. 28.— *Dulaure, Dieux Génératrices*, 166. 180, 181.— *Bronzi d'Ercolano*, vi. pl. 98.— *Maimon. ap. Patrick, Comment. on Exodus, Chap.* xxviii.

quainted with the history of ancient religions are, however, extremely excusable for doubting the existence of so extravagant an aberration of human reason ; but, on this point, we are not reduced to a reliance on the testimony of antiquity ; the worship of the yoni being still widely spread in Hindoostan, not merely under the symbolical form of the pyramid, but in the living woman. Every month the pious Brahmin places his wife disrobed on a seat or pedestal, and adores the symbol of Bhavani in her person.*

DCCLXVIII. The worship of the kteis, or yoni, having, therefore, been much too widely spread, and endured through too many ages, to be called in question, it merely remains to be proved, that it was symbolically represented by the delta or triangle, and adored under this form, variously modified. On the first point, numerous authorities might be adduced.† Antiquarians and mythologists, when these subjects first began to command some degree of attention in modern Europe, imagined the pyramidal or conical shape of the statues of Venus to have proceeded from the ignorance of the devotees. Those primitive idolaters, says Brotier, knew no other method of representing their Goddess than by a large round

* *Ward, History, Religion, &c. of the Hindoos*, vol. i. pp. 192—194.

† Δέλτα est 4. elementum, et pudendum muliebre. — *Constant. Lex.* in voce. — Δέλτα vocatur a comicis et pud. mul. sicut et ἄμβων, ac χοῖρος, et σχάρα, et κέλης, ab iisdem, ut tradit Eustathius, 1539. Suidas autem, postquam dixit δέλτα significare τὸ γυναικεῖον αἰδοῖον, subjungit, δέλται παρατετιλμέναι. — Conf. *Aristophan.* Λ. 451. — *Schol. Eustath. Odys.* 229. 38. — *Diodor. Sicul.* i. 20. 32. — *Brunck. Aristoph.* 3. 175. — *Kuster*, 327. — *Valken. Adoniaz.* p. 281. — *Steph. Thesaur.* in voce.

stone, to which succeeded images of a conical form. Maximus Tyrius, in his pedantic but curious dissertations, observes,—"Among the Pæonians, the image of the sun, which they worship, is merely a small round piece of stone or wood, fixed on a long pole. The Arabians, likewise, pay homage to I know not what god, which they represent by a quadrangular stone. And the Paphians, who adore Venus, have an image of that goddess which you can compare to nothing but a white pyramid." * Tacitus, likewise, in a very remarkable passage, concerning the origin and nature of the Cyprian divinity, remarks, — "The image of the goddess is not in the human form, but consists of a circular block, broad at the basis, and diminishing gradually to a point, like the meta, or goal, of the Hippodrome; but the cause is unknown." †

DCCLXIX. It is very properly remarked by the author of the "Antiquities of Herculaneum," that Maximus Tyrius, in the passage above cited, must not be understood as speaking with geometrical exactness, but of a figure resembling that of the pyramid. Idols of a similar form are found on the medals of Drusus, Vespasian, and Trajan.‡ Spanheim also

* *Dissertat.* xxxviii. pp. 458, 459. — Παφίοις ἡ μὲν Ἀφροδίτη, τὰς τιμὰς ἔχει, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἂν εἰκάσαις ἄλλῳ τῷ ἢ πυραμίδι λευκῇ.

† *Histor.* l. ii. c. 3. — Servius, in his commentary on the Æneid, alludes also to the form of the idol, but is equally silent respecting the cause. "Apud Cyprios Venus in modum *umbilici*, vel, ut, quidam volunt, *metæ*, colitur." *Æneid* i. 724. — Vid. *Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet. Cyprus.* iii. 86, 87.

‡ Che possono vedersi presso il Patino, e presso il Vaillant. — *Pitture Antiche d'Ercolano*, t. ii. p. 275.

remarks that, on the coins of various cities, Venus is sometimes represented as a cone, sometimes as a pyramid, and sometimes, again, as an obelisk; perfectly resembling the antique fresco discovered at Herculaneum.* The idol placed upon the altar in this extraordinary painting exactly corresponds with the description of Tacitus, and nearly approaches the form of the meta delineated on medals and other ancient monuments.† Other gods, endued, though in an inferior degree, with the same generative influence, are likewise supposed to have been represented in the pyramidal form: among others, the god Baal, or the sun, worshipped at Emesa, in Syria. Such is the opinion of the learned author of the "Pitture Antiche;" but as, throughout Syria, the rites of Baal‡ and Astarté were intermingled, and and their fanes frequently the same, it seems more reasonable to conclude, that the pyramidal stone brought to Rome by Heliogabalus, though found in the temple of Baal§, was the symbol of Astarté, the cotemplar divinity. From Syria and Phœnicia the joint worship of these deities passed into Greece, where Baal, transformed into Apollo or Adonis,

* Dissert. de Us. et Præs. Num. Ant. pp. 481—483.

† Conf. *Dialog. in Num. Vet. Ant. Augustin. Archiep. Tarrac. Lat. Red. And. Schott.* pl. 29. No. 609., pl. 36. No. 737., pl. 54. No. 1121., pl. 56. No. 1166.— *Pitture Antiche d'Ercolano*, t. ii. 274, 275.

‡ Conf. *Hamaker Miscell. Phœnic.* 118, 119.—"Jam quod ad singulas illius triadis personas attinet, Astarté ex numinis ἀρσενοθήλους natura eadem est ac Sol Edessenus, &c. p. 131.

§ Λίθος τίς ἐστι μέγιστος κατωθὲν περιφερὴς, λέγων εἰς ὀξύτητα.—*Herodian.*, iii. 3.— *Vide et Casaub. ad Lamprid. et Salm. ad Vopisc.*— *Selden. de Diis Syris. Syntagm.* ii. 3.— Conf. *Hamaker. Miscell Phœnic.* p. 119.

received the impassioned adoration of the dames of Hellas. At Mægara, says Pausanias, Apollo Carinus is represented by a small pyramidal stone.* Apollo Agiæus, or, according to others, Bacchus, commonly placed by the ancients before the doors of their houses, was fashioned like an obelisk, or conical pillar: κωνοειδὴς κίων, as Suidas expresses it. At Sicyon, Jupiter, also, according to Pausanias, was represented in the form of a pyramid, and Diana like a column†: "et ratio in obscuro," as Tacitus, on another occasion, observes.

DCCLXX. But, perhaps, if we consider the nature of the ancient pagan theology, this obscurity may, in some degree, disappear; for the primitive divinity, the root of all existence, the fountain of life and fecundity, was regarded as masculo-feminine; and might, therefore, be represented of either sex, or as a hermaphrodite uniting both. Pierius Valerianus conjectures that, by the pyramid, the ancients intended to typify nature itself, or matter, springing from chaos into life.‡ And in this he

* Ἔστι δὲ....λίθος παρεχόμενος πυραμίδος σχῆμα οὐ μεγαλῆς· τοῦτον Ἀπόλλωνα ὀνομάζουσι Κάρινον. — v. 1.

† Πυραμίδι δὲ ὁ Μειλίχιος (Ζεὺς) ἡ δὲ (Ἄρτεμις πατρῴα) κίονι ἐοικυῖα εἰκασμένη. ii. — The author of the "Pitture Antiche," &c. conjectures-however, with considerable ingenuity, that, as Jove and Apollo, according to Selden (*De Diis Syris, Synt.* ii. 2.), were only so many personifications of the element of fire, they may here be regarded as identical with Venus, the mother of Love; who is herself a subtile flame pervading all things; "est mollis flamma medullas."

‡ "Per pyramidem Veteres rerum naturam et substantiam illam inormem formas recipientem significare voluerunt," lib. lx. — On the triangular base of a bronze statue of Apollo or Bacchus, engraved in

approaches philosophical accuracy; since, as I have already shown, they understood by this mysterious symbol that power of nature by which matter, previously inanimate, is moulded into form, and endued with vitality. In the obelisk, the emblems of the masculine and feminine divinities are united; the shaft, so to say, typifying the solar beam, and its pyramidal crest the kteis, or yoni, symbolical of the universal mother; who, as Pausanias expresses it, was older even than the Fates. That no doubt might remain respecting the nature and office of the deity represented by the pyramid, we find her rites mingled at Paphos with the adoration of the Phallus. Cinyras, says Clemens of Alexandria, the king who introduced the worship of Venus into Cyprus, and erected the temple in which her mysterious image was set up, ordained that to each of the initiated should be given an image of the Phallus, τεκμήριον τῆς γονῆς, as a symbol of fertility.*

DCCLXXI. Even those nations of the East who, having lost, in process of time, the knowledge of their original purpose, regarded the pyramids as

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Middleton's Antiquities, tab. xii., is a small pyramidal projection, closely resembling the image of the Paphian Venus.— *Vide Antiq. Middleton*, p. 147.— *Licet. de Lucern.* l. vi. c. 14. p. 667.— *Dulaure, Dieux Génératrices*, pp. 180, 181.

* *Protreptric.* p. 10. — *Pitture Antiche d'Ercolano*, t. ii. p. 275 — 278.— "Qui verò Cypriæ Veneri initiabantur, eos certas quasdam stipes Deæ intulisse legimus, et retulisse Phallos, a sacerdotibus sibi donatos, tanquam propitii numinis signa." — *Arnob. Cont. Gent.* l. v, ap. *Antiquit. Middleton.* pp. 67, 68.

tombs, still, nevertheless, invested them with a sacred character. The Sabæans "go on pilgrimage to a place near the city of Harran, in Mesopotamia, where great numbers of them dwell; and they have also great respect for the temple of Mekka, and the pyramids of Egypt; fancying these last to be the sepulchres of Seth, and of Enoch and Sabi, his two sons, whom they look on as the first propagators of their religion. At these structures they sacrifice a cock and a black calf, and offer up incense."* A similar adoration was offered up in caves of a certain form, which were likewise supposed to represent the same object. "The most ancient oracle and place of worship at Delphos, was that of the Earth, in a cave which was called *Delphi*, an obsolete Greek word, synonymous with *yoni* in Sanscrit: for it is the opinion of devout Hindoos, that caves are sybmols of the sacred yoni. This opinion prevailed also in the West; for, perforations and clefts in stones and rocks were called αἰδοῖα *Diaboli*, by the first Christians; who always bestowed the appellation of Devils on the deities of the heathen. Perforated stones are not uncommon in India; and devout people pass through them, when the opening will admit of it, in order to be regenerated. If the hole be too small, they put either the hand or foot through it, and with a sufficient degree of faith, it answers nearly the same purpose."† "The Yavanas originally worshipped the sacred yoni alone, which they considered as the sole author of

* *Sale, Preliminary Discourse to the Koran*, vol. i.

† *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi. p. 502.

their being; but learned pundits suppose, that, when we read in the above legend (not here repeated) that the king of the Yavanas adopted for his son an avatara of Mahadeva, it implies also, that himself, with his subjects, admitted the worship of the Lingam or Phallus."*

DCCLXXII. It was remarked, at the commencement, that the worship of the Paphian Venus, which the ancients could trace no farther eastward than Assyria, probably took its rise in India, where a similar religion still prevails. Grose, an able and inquisitive traveller, discovered and investigated with considerable ingenuity the identity of this mystic deity of the Hindoos with the goddess adored in the West, and the similarity of the rites practised in honour of each. "Amongst many other conjectural instances, may be quoted the image of the Paphian Venus, for the form of which Tacitus could not account, not being in any thing resembling the human one, but orbicularly rising from a broad basis, and, in the nature of a race-goal, tapering to a narrow apex a-top: which is exactly the figure of the idol in India, consecrated to such an office as that heathen deity was supposed to preside over, and to which, on the borders especially of the Ganges, the Gentoo virgins

* Idem, p. 510.—"During the flood, Brahma, or the creating power, was asleep at the bottom of the abyss: the generative power of nature, both male and female, reduced to their simplest elements,—the Lingam and the Yoni,—assumed the shape of the hull of a ship, since typified by the Argha, whilst the Lingam became the mast." p. 523.

are brought before they are delivered up to their husbands. This pyramidal stone may be plainly traced to its original; — that idol which in the same, but a larger form, is worshipped by the Gentoos under the name of Jaggannat'h; which, according to all accounts, and to Captain Hamilton's especially, is no other than a pyramidal black stone*, fabled to have fallen from heaven, or, at least, to have miraculously presented itself on that place where stands his temple before-mentioned. Now, according to the best information I could obtain from the Gentoos, this stone, of which all the images of that form in India are esteemed but copies, is meant for the power presiding over universal reproduction; which they attribute to

* In support of Grose and Hamilton's testimony, that of Clemens Alexandrinus may be cited. This author states most distinctly, that the pyramid was worshipped by the Gymnosophists: — "Those among the Hindoos who are denominated 'the Venerable,' go naked all their lives: they cultivate truth, foretell future events, and worship a certain pyramid, beneath which, they imagine, the bones of some deity repose." Οἱ καλούμενοι δὲ Σεμνοὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, γυμνοὶ διαιτῶνται τόν πάντα βίον· οὗτοι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀσκοῦσι, καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων περιμηνύουσι, καὶ σέβουσί τινα πυραμίδα, ὑπ' ἣν ὀστέα τινὸς Θεοῦ νομίζουσιν ἀποκεῖσθαι. — *Stromat.* l. iii. p. 539. ed. Ox. 1715. — According to Clemens, the Ark of the Covenant was constructed in a pyramidal form. Stromat. vi. 785., where the reader will find some extraordinary fancies on the mystical value of numbers. The learned Dodwell, in his "Classical Tour through Greece," describes certain cones in terra-cotta, which he rightly supposes to represent the μύδρος, or conic emblem of Baal or Astarté. "These cones are about three inches and a half high; the perforation at the top shows that they were attached to something: others are frequently found in the fields in the different parts of Greece, especially in Attica; they are in general painted black and red, and are sometimes circular, like those of Corfu, and sometimes four-sided (*i. e.* pyramidal), and all have the perforation." i. 34. The inscription on the engraved specimen, is ΦΡΟΔΕΙΤΗ.

the genial heat and influence of the sun *acting under subordination to it;* and to whom the following formulary, or prayer, is addressed, and often repeated in a day, by the Brahmins especially, with their eyes towards the sun. "Thou Power! which illuminates that resplendent orb, deign also to illuminate my mind, so as that I may hereby be directed to walk in the way most pleasing to thee." Now, considering the dignity attached in the idea of the Gentoos to the generative power, it is no derogation to the supremacy attributed to Jaggannat'h,—manifested by their making his temple and image the head place of their worship,—to infer, that he is their god Brahma, under that title, just as Jupiter had several names, according to his various functions, and equivalent to the Mythras, or Venus Urania, of the Persians, or simply the Venus of the heathens. That the deity, however, represented specifically by that image, and under that name, was held to preside over the genial fire, is plainly proved by the ceremonies with which, at a certain time of the year, they perform their worship to it, especially on the banks of the Ganges. For the Gentoo inhabitants there form domestic idols after that of Jaggannat'h, to which they give its name, and which are niched in a conveyance that is to serve them for a triumphal car, altogether decorated with gilding and tinsel. Formerly it used to be so with jewels and expensive finery, according to the circumstances of the owner; but of late they have much abated on this point. This machine is kept for some days in the best apartment of their house; during which time it

is matter of devotion with them to exhibit all the obscenest postures, and to act all manner of lasciviousness in sight, as it were, of the idol, and as the most acceptable mode of worship to the deity it represents. After which, they carry it in its gilded car processionally to the Ganges, and throw all in together, as an acknowledgment to that river of its congenial fertilisation with that of the sun."*

DCCLXXIII. One of the gods of Jaggannat'h, represented in the pyramidal form, has frequently been supposed to be the divinity presiding over concupiscence; but, though the Brahmins, naturally lewd and profligate, profane the rites by indecent exhibitions, the original worship, like that of the celestial Venus, probably consisted in the silent adoration of the creative power of nature.† This productive energy, for reasons derived from their physiological system, they conceived to be feminine in its nature, and selected as its symbol the pyramid, known throughout the ancient world as the emblem of womanhood. Sometimes, where the immortality and transmigration of the soul formed a portion of the

* Grose, Voyage to the East Indies, pp. 323—327.

† Garcilasso de la Vega enumerates the pyramid among the objects of Peruvian worship, but entirely misunderstands the cause of this superstition. "De Parihuana Cocha l'Yncâ passa plus avant, et traversa le désert de Coropuna, où l'on voit une *belle et haute pyramide* de neige, qui les Indiens sont accoûtumé d'appeler *Huaca*, c'est-à-dire, 'merveilleuse;' comme elle l'est en effet; c'est pourquoi les habitans de cette frontière, gens superstitieux, et de peu d'esprit, lui fesoient des sacrifices, et l'adoraient pour son extrême beauté." *Hist. des Yncas*, i. 264. The Peruvians, in general, worshipped lofty mountains, caverns, large stones, and emeralds. i. 39. Among the Greeks, the tops of high mountains were sacred to Jupiter. Maxim. Tyr. Dissert. xxxviii. 450.

national creed, the bodies of the dead were deposited in the pyramidal fane, to intimate that, by the power thus mystically typified, man triumphs over death itself, his spirit passing from form to form in the eternal circle of generations. But, in these cases, the pyramid was no more considered as a tomb than one of our churches, in which the dead are constantly interred. Many temples erected in this form still exist in Hindoostan; and the Brahmins, knowing in honour of what power they were raised, naturally infer that, wherever similar structures are found, the same deity must once have been adored.* Beyond

* Various ancient authors appear to have identified the goddess Venus with the planet which bears her name. Dazzled by the superior splendour of this beautiful star, the Greeks, and other nations of the west, represented it as a woman. *Euseb. Præp. Evangel.* l. iii. p. 114.—The Peruvians denominated this planet, "the sun's page," and represented it with beautiful long hair. "Quant à le planète de Venus, parcequ'ils la voyoient tantôt le matin, et tantôt le soir, ils disoient que le Soleil, en qualité de Roi des Etoiles, ordonnoit que celle-ci, comme la plus belle de toutes, se tint toujours auprès de lui." *Hist. des Yncas*, i. 198. 205. 313.—"The ancient Arabians and Indians, between which two nations was a great conformity of religions, had seven celebrated temples dedicated to the seven planets; one of which, in particular, called *Beit Ghomdân*, was built in Sana, the metropolis of Yemen, by Dahak, to the honour of Al Zohara, or the planet Venus." .... Other idols were mere rude stones, but their form is not specified. *Sale, Prelim. Discourse to the Korân.*—The patriarch Abraham, on issuing from the cave in which he had been confined by his father, is said to have adored the planet Venus:—"Videnque stellam Veneris forte exorientem, et cæteras lumine, splendore, et claritate longe superantem, ait, Hic est deus meus et creator meus.'" *Abraham Ecchellensis, ap. Burnett, Archæol. Philosoph.* p. 140.—In an elegant Idyllium of Ausonius, Venus is denominated the "Queen of the Star and of the Rose:"—

"Sideris et floris nam domina una Venus."

Upon which Alciatus observes:—"Certè philosophi quidam odorem rosæ et colorem à Veneris stella proficisci existimarunt."—*Emblem.* p. 483.

this I attach no weight to the testimony of the learned Hindoos, brought forward by Colonel Wilford. The passages from the *Puránas*, supposed to refer to the ancient history of Egypt, are evidently spurious, notwithstanding the positive assertions of Sir William Jones to the contrary: it would, therefore, be disingenuous to attribute to them the slightest value in a discussion of this kind; but at the same time, it will, perhaps, be allowed, that, on a question of sacred architecture, the opinion of learned Brahmins is worthy of consideration, more especially when corroborated in a very striking manner by the character of existing monuments.

DCCLXXIV. Even legends, fictitious narratives, and poetical traditions, when invented with a due regard to the popular mythology upon which they are superinduced, may be referred to in support of an hypothesis perfectly in keeping with the spirit of the age and country to which they relate. In Hindoostan, the pyramid, the triangle, and all their modifications, are connected with the worship and temples of Bhavani, — the Indian Venus, — and are, consequently, beheld, and spoken of, with the greatest reverence, as symbols of the sacred yoni, or kteis. Some obscure resemblance of this figure is supposed to be found within the chalice of the lotus. Bhavani, therefore, in her generative character, is sometimes denominated *Padma-devi*, or "the goddess of the lotus;" and the Brahmins, accustomed from their infancy to associate the pyramid with the mysteries of Padma-devi, very

naturally infer that, wherever structures of this form exist, the religion and rites of the goddess of fecundity must have formerly prevailed. "The children of Sharma travelled a long time. . . . . On their arrival in Egypt, they found the country peopled by evil beings and by a few impure tribes of men, who had no fixed habitation: their leader, therefore, in order to propitiate the tutelary divinity of that region, sat on the bank of the Nile, performing acts of austere devotion, and praising Padma-devi, or the goddess residing on the lotus. Padma at last appeared to him, and commanded him to erect a pyramid, in honour of her, on the very spot where he then stood: the associates began the work, and raised a pyramid of earth two cros long, one broad, and one high, in which the goddess of the lotus resided." *

DCCLXXV. To a worshipper of Bhavani, the idea of converting a pyramid into a tomb would be far from obvious. "The Brahmins never understood that any pyramid in Misra-st'hala, or Egypt, was intended as a repository for the dead; and no such idea is conveyed by the Mahacalpa, where several other pyramids are expressly mentioned as places of worship. There are pyramids now at Benares, but on a small scale, with subterranean passages under them, which are said to extend many miles: when the doors, which close them, are opened, we perceive

* *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. pp. 68, 69. — The author, by a most circuitous process, identifies Padma-devi with Isis. *Id.* iii. 71. But the goddess of the kteis was Athor, the most ancient of the Egyptian deities. *Jablonski, Panth. Ægypt.* i. 2.

only dark holes, which do not seem of great extent, and pilgrims do no longer resort to them, through fear of mephitic air or noxious reptiles. The narrow passage leading to the great pyramid of Egypt was designed to render the holy apartment less accessible, and to inspire the votaries with more awe: the caves of the oracle at Delphi, of Trophonius, and of New Grange, in Ireland, had narrow passages answering the purpose of those in Egypt and India; nor is it unreasonable to suppose that the fabulous relations concerning the grot of the Sibyl in Italy, and the purgatory of St. Patrick, were derived from a similar practice and motive, which seems to have prevailed over the whole pagan world, and are often alluded to in Scripture. M. Maillet has endeavoured to show, in a most elaborate work, that the founders of the great pyramid lay entombed in it, and that its entrance was afterwards closed; but it appears that the builder of it was not buried there; and it was certainly opened in the times of Herodotus and Pliny.* On my describing the great Egyptian pyramid to several very learned Brahmins, they declared it at once to have been a temple; and one of them asked, if it had not a communication under ground with the river Káli (Nile): when I answered that such a passage was mentioned as having existed, and that a well was at this day to be seen, they unanimously agreed that it was a place appropriated to the

* This, however, is like coupling together the times of William the Conqueror and Queen Anne; Herodotus having flourished nearly five hundred years before Pliny.

worship of PADMA-DEVI, and that the supposed tomb was a trough which, on certain festivals, her priests used to fill with the sacred water and lotus-flowers."*

DCCLXXVI. I have now collected together and investigated the principal passages which occur in ancient and modern authors, bearing directly on the origin and purpose of the pyramids. Rigid demonstration is not, perhaps, to be attained in questions of this kind, where, as in the moral and political sciences, clear logical inference and probability commonly supply its place. I have shown, however, that the pyramids were neither observatories, granaries, treasuries, nor tombs; that the form in which they are constructed was selected by the Indians, Egyptians, and Greeks, as the emblem of the celestial Venus; that temples and idols, sacred to this divinity, have been erected on the pyramidal model in various regions of the ancient world, and still exist in Hindoostan; and that, in short, the pyramids themselves are religious structures, sacred to the mysterious worship of Urania, or the goddess of the lotus, whose sex and nature they symbolically represent by their external configuration. Viewed in this light, they form an interesting subject of inquiry; and a more accurate study of their interior arrangements, by the aid of extensive excavations, may serve, perhaps, to

* *Asiatic Researches*, iii. 228—230. — Cf. vol. vi. pp. 443. 477. 502. 510. 523. 538. vii. 61. 101. 103. 105. 281. — *Lucian de Dea Syria*, c. 16. — *Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet.* iii. 84—87. — *Mionnet, Descr. des Médailles*, iii. 670. — *Clem. Alexand. Cohort. ad Gentes*, pp. 5. 11. 16. 187. 244.

elucidate the darker portions of Egyptian mythology —the characters and attributes of the goddesses. As mere tombs, they could only be admired for their mass and solidity. But, if I shall be thought satisfactorily to have explained their nature and design, an additional step will have been made towards comprehending the mysteries of the most remarkable system of ancient theology. The tower of Babel is supposed by many learned men to have been a pyramidal structure, and may probably have been erected in honour of Baal and Astarté; the ancient Mexicans, among their woods and mountains, had similar temples, sacred, in all probability, to a similar deity; the Assyrians, the Phœnicians, the Greeks of Asia and Europe, concurred with the Egyptians in worshipping, under the same mystical form, the "Queen of Heaven," the mother of the gods, through whose ministry life is imparted from being to being, who presides over and preserves the harmony and beauty of the universe, and whose stellar representative gilds the twilight and the dawn, as the evening and the morning star.

——" Hominum divumque voluptas,
Alma Venus, cæli inter labentia signa
Quæ mare navigerum, quæ terras frugiferanteis
Concelebras; per Te quoniam genus omne animantum
Concipitur, visitque exortum lumina solis:
Te, Dea, te fugiunt venti, te nubila cæli,
Adventumque tuum: tibi suaveis dædala tellus
Summittit flores, tibi rident æquora ponti,
Placatumque nitet diffuso lumine cælum."*

* Lucret. Rer. Nat. l. i.

NOTES.

(Page 327—330.)

Egg Hatching Ovens.

The curious practice of hatching eggs artificially, though ill understood, or imperfectly described by several Greek and Roman writers, was not unknown to the ancients. Aristotle, the earliest author, I believe, who makes mention of it, was evidently in possession of but scanty information. "Eggs," he observes, "are hatched by the incubation of birds; but they are also hatched spontaneously, by being placed among dung in the earth, as is the case in Egypt. And a certain Syracusan wine-bibber, having buried a number of eggs beneath a mat in the ground, is said to have continued drinking, without intermission, till they were hatched. Nay, even when placed in warm vessels, they are quickened into life, without the process of incubation." Ἐκπέττεται μὲν οὖν ἐπωαζόντων τῶν ὀρνίθων· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτόματα ἐν τῇ γῇ, ὥσπερ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, κατορυττόντων εἰς τὴν κόπρον. Καὶ ἐν Συρακοῦσαις δὲ φιλοπότης τις ὑποτιθέμενος ὑπὸ τὴν ψίαθον εἰς τὴν γῆν, τοσοῦτον ἔπινεν, ὥς φασι, χρόνον συνεχῶς, ἕως ἐκλεπείη τὰ ὠά. Ἤδη δὲ καὶ κείμενα ἐν ἀγγείοις ἀλεεινοῖς ἐξεπέφθη καὶ ἐξῆλθεν αὐτόματα.—*De Animal. Hist.* l. vi. c. 2. t. i. p. 246. *edit. Schneid. Lips.* 1811. Other ancient authors, as the learned editor observes, have likewise noticed the practice. Antigonus, c. 104., employs nearly the same words as Aristotle: καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ κατορύττοντας εἰς κόπρον νεοττοὺς ποιεῖν. Albertus, also, translating or paraphrasing the words of some ancient author, observes: "Egyptii enim complent ova sua ponendo sub fimo ad solem." And Pliny: "Quædam et citra incubitum sponte naturæ gignunt, ut in Ægypti fimetis. Scitum de quodam reperitur Syracusis tam diu potare solitum donec cooperta terra fœtum ederent ova." *Hist. Natur.* x. 75.—*Conf. Diodorus. edit. Wesseling.* i. 74. p. 85.—*Democrit. in Geopon.* xiv. 8. *adnotat.*

Niclasii. p. 996. — "Nihil his opto," says the Emperor Hadrian, "nisi ut suis pullis alantur, quos quemadmodum fœcundent, pudet dicere." — *Vopisc.* p. 245. — The relation of Aristotle appears to have been the basis of all these accounts. Belon, Observations, &c. p. 102., after succinctly describing the process, cites a brief passage from the old Latin translation of the "*De Animal. Histor.*" George Sandys, who visited Egypt in the beginning of the seventeenth century, observes: "Here (at Cairo) hatch they egges by artificial heat in infinite numbers; the manner as seen thus briefly. In a narrow entry on each side stood two rows of ovens, one over another. On the floores of the lower they lay the offels of flax, over those mats, and upon them egges, at least six thousand in an oven. The floores of the upper ovens were as roofes to the under; grated over like kilds, onely having tunnels in the middle, with coverings unto them. These gratings are covered with mats; on them, three inches thick, lyeth the dry and pulverated dung of camels, buffaloes, &c. At the higher and further sides of those upper ovens are trenches of lome, a handful deep, and two handfuls broad. In these they burn of the aforesaid dung, which giveth a smothering heat, without visible fire. Under the mouthes of the upper ovens are conveyances for smoak, having round roofes, and vents at the top to shut and open. Thus lie the egges in the lower ovens for the space of eight days, turned daily, and carefully looked to, that the heat be but moderate. Then cull they the bad from the good, by that time distinguishable (holding them between a lamp and the eye), which are two parts of the three for the most part. Two days after they put out the fire, and convey, by the passage in the middle, the one half into the upper ovens: then shutting all close, they let them alone for ten days longer, at which time they become disclosed in an instant. This they practise from the beginning of January untill the midst of June, the egges being then most fit for that purpose, neither are they (as reported) prejudiced by thunder: yet these declare that imitated, nature will never be equalled; all of them being in some part defective or monstrous." *Travels, &c.* p. 97, 98. If the reports we received may be relied on, there are, in this narration, several erroneous ideas; but, perhaps, the practice has varied in different ages.

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ERA OF THE MOHAMMEDANS.

THE era of the Hejira, or "flight" of Mohammed, is dated from the 16th July, A. D. 622. The Mohammedan year consists of twelve months; and since they use no intercalary days to reduce it to the solar period (according to Surat 9. Aiet 37. of the Koran), it necessarily follows that the commencement of the lunar year outstrips the termination of the solar one, and is scattered promiscuously through the four seasons; the same month occurring at one period in the spring, at another in the summer, autumn, or winter. We shall here subjoin the names and order of the Arabic months, with the number of days of which each consists.

		Days.
محرم	Moharrem - -	30
صفر	Safar - - -	29
ربيع الاول	Rabia (1st.) - -	30
ربيع الاخر	Rabia (2d.) - -	29
جمادي الاول	Jomadi (1st.) - -	30
جمادي الاخر	Jomadi (2d.) - -	29
رجب	Rejib - - -	30
شعبان	Shaban - - -	29
رمضان	Ramad'han - -	30
شوال	Shawal - - -	29
ذو لغعدة	Dhu'lkadet - -	30
ذو لجة	Dhu'lhajet - - -	29

In leap year the month ذو لجة (Dhu'lhajet) has thirty days, as we shall presently show.

In calculating the lapse of time, the Mohammedans adopt two methods; the one being called the practical, the other the chronological mode. By the former of these, the commencement of the year is computed from the first appearance of the moon after its conjunction with the sun, which is carefully observed from the pinnacles of those lofty towers whence they make their astronomical observations; or at least from the period at which

she ought to be visible. This φασις can rarely be discerned earlier than 24, or later than 48 hours after the above conjunction. The month thus begun, is terminated with the phase of the next new moon; and consequently, when the twelfth lunation is accomplished, the year is understood to commence with her first appearance.

They arrange their chronological mode of computation by a cycle of 30 years, with indefatigable care and industry, after the following manner:—When the lunar month, or, as the Arab astronomers term it, the medial synodic revolution of the moon, has accomplished 30 days 12 hours and 792 scruples (of which 1080 make an hour), the year will contain exactly 354 days 8 hours and 864 scruples, or 354 days 8 hours and 48 minutes. In the disposal of these hours and scruples, it is necessary they should either be distributed among the years included within a certain period, or inserted in some year recurring after a given time. Hence their reason for adopting the cycle of 30 years (since one of inferior duration would not admit of those hours and scruples being reduced to an exact number of days); and as the sum of the former amounts to eleven of the latter, nineteen years of this cycle consist of 354, and eleven of 365 days each; that gained in leap year being added to the last month Dhu'lhajet. In the Arabian triacade, the bissextile years are, 2, 5, 8, 10, 13, 16, 19, 21, 24, 27, and 29; therefore, if, after dividing a given year of the Hejira by 30, there be any remainder, we may safely pronounce that to be the leap year.

I shall here add a simple method by which I have been accustomed to reduce the Mohammedan year into our own.

	D.	H.	M.
The solar year is equal to - - -	365	5	49
The lunar year - - - - -	354	8	48
Difference - -	10	21	1
100 lunar years - - - - -	35,436	16	0
97 solar years - - - - -	35,428	12	13
Difference -	8	3	47
33 lunar years - - - - -	11,694	2	24
32 solar years - - - - -	11,687	18	8
Difference -	6	8	16

	D.	H.	M.
Here, in the first place, the beginning of the lunar year outstrips that of the solar - -	10	21	1
After a lunar century, the beginning of the solar precedes that of the lunar year - - -	8	3	47
At the expiration of a cycle of 30 lunar years, the commencement of the solar precedes the lunar year	6	8	16

Required, any year from the Incarnation of Christ, corresponding to a certain date of the Hejira: *Rule.*—Multiply the number of centuries in the given period by 3, and allow 1 for every 33 contained in the overplus: subtract this amount from the date of the Hejira, and to the remainder add 621 (the number of years from the birth of Christ to the commencement of the Mohammedan era); the result will show the required year from the Incarnation of our Lord.

Example.

To what year of Christ does 981 of the Hejira correspond?

9, the number of centuries - - - × 3 = 27
2, because there are two periods of 33 years each in 81 - - - - - - + 27 = 29
981, the given year - - - - - - 29 = 952

952 + 621 = A.D. 1573.

The above rule may be applied, without any variation, for nearly forty-five lunar centuries; afterwards it will be necessary to add the unit to the sum, and so on.

If at any time we wish to ascertain the exact day according to the Christian era, referred to by Mohammedan writers, it will be necessary to begin our calculation from the very commencement of the century on which that day is contained, paying due attention to their bissextile years as well as to our own.

The first fourteen Mohammedan centuries commence with the following days:—

A. H.	A. D.	NEW YEAR'S DAY.	
1	622 - - -	16 July	Friday
101	719 - - -	24 ——	Monday
201	816 - - -	30 ——	Wednesday
301	913 - - -	7 Aug.	Saturday
401	1010 - - -	15 ——	Tuesday
501	1107 - - -	22 ——	Thursday
601	1204 - - -	29 ——	Sunday

A. H.	A. D.	NEW YEAR'S DAY.	
701	1301	6 Sept.	Wednesday
801	1398	13 ——	Friday
901	1495	21 ——	Monday
1001	1592	28 ——	Thursday
1101	1689	5 Oct.	Saturday
1201	1786	24 ——	Tuesday
1301	1883	1 Nov.	Friday
1401	1980	7 ——	Sunday.

Rerum Ægyptiacarum Annales, p. 32. *et seq. notar. Carlyl.*

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ECONOMICAL CALENDAR.

IN the name of God, the most Merciful of the Merciful. Praise to God, who created the heavens and the earth, and appointed mankind destined to labour and limited by the term of life, and stationed the sun and the moon succeeding each other in the firmament of heaven, revolving in fixed orbits. And prayer and peace upon our Lord Mohammed, who by his light enlightens the world, and upon his family and friends as long as day and night shall succeed each other.

The following is a good Almanack of small dimensions, useful to the Arabs, containing notices pertaining to the celestial solar year, which begins on blessed Thursday, the 29th day of the month Shawal, in the year 1248. One thousand two hundred and forty-eight, according to Arabic computation, answering to the 13th day of the month Bermahāt in the year 1549 of the Copts, and also corresponding to the 9th of March, 1833, according to the Christian era. May God cause it to begin with bliss, and prosperity, and peace upon earth, through the gracious assistance of his benign Majesty, to all true believers, and especially to that Essence of Time and End of the Revolutions, the Glory of the Ottoman Empire, established in the Government of his Slaves, our Lord Sultan Mahmood. May God perpetuate his kingdom, Amen! And, O God, I implore thy help and assistance to our Lord the great Vizir, the procurer of hap-

piness, and the fat proprietor of bliss, our Lord the Governor of Cairo! May God establish his peace and prosperity, and enable him to realise the completion of his hopes by the favour of the Prophet and his descendants, Amen! And now let us make a beginning as to the object of our undertaking, reposing on the assistance of God—saying,—

YEAR 1248.

Month Shawal, 30 *Days*.*

1. Feast of the Fitr (unleavened bread). Vegetation begins. Ants come out of the earth. Almonds in flower. 21st of February, 1832.
2. The contents of vessels will be agitated if Mercury enter Pisces. Plant pomegranates.
3. Southerly winds.
5. The day breaks under a happy constellation, viz. the twenty-third mansion of the moon, and the day becomes $11\frac{1}{2}$ hours long.
6. A second accumulation of heat happens to the water for seven days.
7. The fishing season.
8. The blowing of the winds will increase.
9. Return of cranes and other fowls (1st of March).
10. Sitting in the sun is oppressive.
11. Plant roses and jessamines.
12. Bugs make their appearance.
13. A third grant of heat falls upon the earth. The days become $11\frac{3}{4}$ hours long.
14. Plant the sugar cane.
15. Water-fowl multiply.
16. The myrobalan (a sort of tamarisk) is planted.
17. Equinoxial gales. Beginning of the Coptic month Bermahāt.
18. The dawn rises on a happy dwelling.
19. Worms and locusts breed. Departure of the crane.
20. Silkworms breed.
21. First day of March, Greek style.
22. Sow semsam. Plant roses and jessamines.

* Between this almanack and the account of Carlyle, there is a considerable discrepancy, respecting the number of days in each month; but I make no alteration in the text of either.

23. Increase of bugs.
24. End of the Equinoxial gales, and of cold nights.
25. Wind strong. Dusty. Plant the sugar cane.
26. Lapwings and swallows appear.
27. Cut down your flax.
28. End of Winter. Trees bud. Termination of the celestial solar year, and of the sign of Pisces.
29. Beginning of Spring and of Aries. New Year's Day. Day and night equal. A three days' gale begins.
30. Times mend. Worms and grasshoppers breed. End of the first month.

II. *Dhu'lkadet, 29 Days.*

1. Corresponds with the 23d of March. Silkworms come out of their eggs.
3. Breeding of serpents. Plant sesame.
4. If it rain, it will be beneficial to vegetation.
6. Jam saluberrima est τὸ πλησιάζειν γυναικὶ.
7. Passage of the lapwing.
8. Cut down flax.
9. Sow cotton. End of Winter.
10. Sow cummin seed.
12. Appearance of seed above ground.
20. Reptiles in Cairo.
22. Camelorum ἡ συνουσία.
24. Finish sowing small seed. Beginning of the *Khamsyn*, a hot wind which blows several times during 50 (*Arabicè* Khamsyn) days, and lasting each time 24 or 48 hours with the exception of the re-action of a cool breeze morning and evening.
29. Prepare roses for their various uses.

III. *The Holy Month of Dhu'lhajet has 30 Days.*

1.* The Simoom wind is injurious to the sprouting corn.
4. Ingraft the date fruit.
7. Breeding of bees.
10. Finish sowing the large seed.
20. If there be an easterly wind, we shall have a healthy year; if westerly, an unhealthy!

* Corresponds with the 21st of April.

21. The olive fruit appears.
26. Flowering of the mulberry.
29. Collect poppies.
30. Sow turnips. The end of the Arabic year 1248.

YEAR 1249.

IV. *The Sacred Month of Moharrem*, 29 *Days*.

1. Sow Indian corn. Locusts lay eggs. (21st of May.)
2. Fall of manna and quails.
3. Harvest of saffron.
4. Increase of heat — fleas diminish in consequence.
11. End of the doctor's Khamsyn (quarantine time), when, if you see a heavy dew, rejoice in the prospect of the happy overflow of the Nile that year.
14. Strong northerly winds.
15. Waters of the Nile at their lowest (drying ! !).
17. First change in the Nile.
19. Inlay or plant the banana.
20. Sow cucumbers.
23. Collect the honey from hives.

V. *The Happy Month of Safar*, 30 *Days*.

1. Corresponds with the 19th of June.
2. End of Spring.
5. Rising of the Nile, and you may in safety bathe your *parched* bodies ! !
6. Appearance of the grape and fig-fruit.
9. Last sowing of the semsam.
10. Crop time of the cotton seed.
11. Peaches, a bountiful crop this year.
16. Increase of heat.
18. Which kills the grasshopper.
20. Last of hot winds, and the rising of the Nile.
22. Abundance of honey.
27. Last sowing of rice.
29. Steep flax in water.

VI. *Month Rabia-il-Awal*, 29 *Days*.

1. Corresponds with 19th of July.
2. Take care not to eat too much !

7. Gather mustard seed.
9. Gather coriander, and sesame.
12. The grape and fig ripen.
17. Gather grapes for vinegar.
18. Dates ripen.
19. Sow greens.
20. Greatest heats. Avoid τὴν συνουσίαν, and eating onions.
22. Sow radishes and carrots.
23. Drink cold water on an empty stomach.
25. Harvest of the cotton.
26. Flowering of the pomegranate.

VII. *Rabia-il-Tani*, 29 *Days*.

1. Corresponds with 17th of August.
6. Rising of the Nile as usual.
7. Avoid the sting of insects as more than usually pernicious.
11. Boils (of the Nile) on the body. Northerly winds.
13. Heat diminishes.
14. The last of the simoom wind.
17. First sowing of the beet and turnip.
19. Passage of the sparrow-hawk and falcon.
21. Fish breed.
24. Last of the Coptic year (1549).
27. Dew.
29. Evita ἀὸ παραχοιτεῖν.

VIII. *Month Jomadi-il-Awal*, 30 *Days*.

1. Abundant crop of dates and fruit for drying. 15th Sept.
3. Abundant crop of lemons in Cairo.
4. Harvest of the olives.
5. Overflow of the river.
6. Rainy season in the Hejaz.
9. Entrance of Autumn. Heat diminishes.
11. Time of the Nile's highest flow.
14. Break down the banks of the river, for the water to overflow.
17. Gather fruits for the Winter.
19. Water-drinking at night is injurious.
21. Growth of the sugar cane.
22. Collect the hinna. Sow Winter seeds.
24. Fall of the leaves.
30. End of the rising of the Nile. Harvest of rice.

IX. *Month of Jomadi-il-Tani,* 29 *Days.*

1. Cool winds. Approach of Winter. (15th of October.)
4. Sow the acacia, bastard saffron, flax.
5. The waters of the Nile begin to retire.
6. Sow clover.
7. Sow barley on the banks of the Nile.
8. Increase your covering.
9. Damp winds and dews.
11. Passage of the crane.
12. Frogs.
15. Do not bleed except in cases of the greatest necessity.
17. Wind cools.
18. Sow grain.
21. Passage of Babylonian geese.
22. Sowing season in Syria.
25. Sow the violet.
27. He who sows not now, must wait till next year. (A proverb.)
28. Rains and a strong northerly wind.

X. *Month Rejib the Noble,* 30 *Days.*

1. Corresponds with 13th of November.
4. Gather the saffron. Wear furs.
6. Insects enter into the earth.
8. Send sheep to grass.
9. Wild beasts multiply.
11. Wood cut down now will not become worm-eaten. Make oil of shelgim (rape root).
12. Abundance of bananas.
17. Avoid the cold nights.
18. Avoid drinking cold water at nights.
21. Insects without bones die off.
22. Camels and elephants multiply.
24. Smell musk and all strong spices.
25. Bees breed, and fish get fat.
26. Fall of dew.
28. Birds get into their nests (holes).
29. Wind.
30. The passages of the nose are stopped (by taking cold).

XI. *The Glorious Month of Shaban,* 29 *Days.*

1. Corresponds with the 15th of December. A fall of snow.
2. Increase of clouds.

3. Ovium ἡ ἀνάμιξις.
5. Send horses to grass. Serpents get blind.
7. Increase of fleas.
11. Rains. Begin to plant trees.
13. Cold even to freezing.
14. Don't eat beef.
15. Water freezes in the mountains.
16. Compress the sugar cane (make sugar).
17. Prune the vine.
18. Ants enter into the earth.
19. Dark nights.
20. 1st of January, 1833.
21. Don't eat fowls and cooling things (salads, &c.).
22. Sow the poppy.
24. Eat sweets.
27. Do not drink water from uncovered vessels.
28. Increase of cold.

XII. *The Honoured Month of Ramad'han*, 30 *Days.*

1. Corresponds with 11th of January.
4. The face of the earth becomes green.
9. Sow onions.
11. The waters of the Nile become clear and sweet.
13. Plant vines.
15. Plant palms.
16. Circulation of the sap in trees.
21. End of the extreme cold and dark nights.
22. Beginning of the Khamsyn.
28. Plant walnuts and peaches.
30. Heat of domestic animals.

And God knows the truth of all things, and the fate of the humble Yehia (Editor of the Almanack). May the gracious God be merciful unto him, and to those who have brought him up, and to all Moslems. Praise and glory to the Highest. May he pour forth his blessings on our Lord Mohammed and his relations and friends, to the end of time.

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ANECDOTES OF THE DEFTERDAR BEY.

Of the cruelty of this Turkish grandee, who has married a daughter of Mohammed Ali, numerous anecdotes are related in Egypt. He has, it is said, a tame lion, usually lying at the foot of his divan, which, though mild towards its master, is still sufficiently ferocious to terrify his visiters. Sometimes he allows it to worry his slaves, calling it off, perhaps, just as it is about to kill the wretches. Similar habits are attributed to Tippoo Sultan. This savage, at present governor of the Delta, piques himself on the simplicity and primitiveness of his manners, and his entire freedom from European habits and notions. During the period of his command in the Upper Country, a soldier robbed a poor woman of a little milk. The woman, not foreseeing the result, laid her complaint before the Bey, who commanded her to point out the culprit. This being done, the soldier was ordered to be laid upon the ground, and have his body ripped open. The milk being found in his stomach, the Bey paid the complainant, and dismissed her, observing, — "The robber has been punished; but had he been discovered to be innocent, the same punishment would have awaited you." It is the custom of this barbarian, who always moves surrounded by the terror of arms, to ride abroad accompanied by a number of Mamalooks (or domestic slaves), each of whom carries a thousand sequins in his girdle; that, should he be compelled to fly, — which, considering his decided hostility to the Pasha, is by no means improbable, — he might still be provided with money for his immediate use. During the Syrian campaign, six of these young men, dreading the effects of his ferocity, examples of which they daily beheld, made their escape, and took refuge in Ibrahim's camp. Being discovered, however, they were immediately apprehended, and conveyed back to Cairo. Here they were commanded to appear before their inexorable lord, in the great hall of the palace, where they found him encircled by a number of blacks, armed with drawn swords. They were not long in learning their fate. He commanded them to take every man a sabre, and attack each other in his presence, until five of their number should fall, promising life and a thousand sequins to the victor. The Mamalooks obeyed; ranged themselves three and three; and, having been trained to

the use of arms, and uniting skill with courage, fought desperately, shedding their blood like water, while the Defterdar sat calmly on his divan, enjoying the spectacle. At length, after a long and sanguinary struggle, one only remained, the victor over his unhappy companions. Exhausted, and bleeding in every limb, he raised his eyes towards his master, to receive the promised pardon; but, at this moment, the Bey gave the nod to one of the black slaves, who stood behind the victim, and the head of the Mamalook immediately rolled along the floor. — On another occasion, shortly before my arrival at Cairo, two of his military slaves, quarrelling, drew their swords in his presence; at which his anger being kindled, he commanded their heads to be struck off. The Mamalooks, however, mindful of the recent fate of their companions, resolved to sell their lives dearly, drew their pistols, and aiming at the head of the tyrant, were about to rid the world of such a monster, when the interposition of other of his slaves enabled him to escape into the harem. Reckless and desperate, as knowing escape impossible, the Mamalooks, now joined by several others, who all had wrongs and insults to revenge, pursued and besieged him in his private apartments; where, but for the speedy arrival of a party of soldiers from the citadel, he would then have paid the forfeit of his innumerable barbarities and crimes. With this assistance he succeeded in repelling the assailants, who, in their turn, were shut up and besieged in one of the turrets of the palace, forming the powder magazine. Here they held out during several days, fighting desperately; but, at length, finding their numbers decrease, and being entirely destitute of provisions, they set fire to the powder, and blew themselves up with the tower in which they had taken refuge.

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THE TURKISH PIPE, AND ITS DIFFERENT PARTS.

THE Orientals, being great smokers, regard their pipes as matters of considerable importance, and have bestowed on each part of the apparatus a distinct name. To have collected the whole of this fumigatory vocabulary might have been an affair of some labour; but I subjoin the principal names for the benefit of lovers of smoke.

عود شيبوق	Oud shibouque	The entire pipe.
طقم	Taccum	The whole mouth-piece.
فم مبسم	Fim, mubsum	The amber piece that touches the mouth.
زيه لمبسم	Zee-il-mubsum	The ring under it.
طوبه	Toubé	The large piece next to it, generally of enamel.
طوق	Touk	A broad convex ring next to it.
زيه لطوق	Zee-il-touk	The small ring under it.
اتك	Attack	The last long amber piece.
تنزبكه	Tanzeelé	The tube upon which the mouth-piece is mounted.
لفا فه	Liffaféh	Covering of cotton stuff.
تقصيبه	Tacseebé	Two half tubes of cane put along the pipe to keep it straight and over the Liffaféh.
توب	Towb	The silk covering.
قمته قصب الفوقانيه	Kumta Kassab ilfukanieh	Three gold bindings, the middle one small, the other two about half a foot long, situated upon the extremities of the silk covering.
وللوسبانيه	Walwistanieh	
والاختانيه	Waltuhtanieh	
شرابه	Shirrabé	A tassel hanging to the lowest part of the preceding.
بوداقه	Boudaka	The bowl.
جلسا الا بوداقه	Gilset il Boudaka	The lower part of the bowl on which it rests.
صاعد الا بوداقه	Sâad il Boudaka	The part of the bowl through which the pipe-stick goes into it.
جنص الا بوداقه	Chanak il Boudaka	The part that holds the tobacco.
دزيدا الا بوداقه	Dawiet il Boudaka	The tongue of the bowl to prevent the tobacco going up the pipe.

Cum multis aliis, quæ nunc perscribere longum est.

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TAKING OF DAMASCUS.

[The following is a specimen of the style in which the *Wahabis*, the old enemies of Mohammed Ali, summoned a city to surrender.]

Proclamation of a General of Seood the Wahabi, to the People of Damascus.

In the name of the Most Merciful.

GEDEH ELEABLANI,

to

THE GRANDEES OF DAMASCUS.

FAITH in God and his Prophet, is the foundation and origin of the religion of the Moslems.

It is that holy religion which distinguishes the Turk from the Unbeliever, and from your Governors, who practise nothing in this world but wickedness, vice, and cruelty.

I exhort you, therefore, to embrace the Moslem religion.

We are coming into the province of Damascus, with Moslem troops.

He among you that would make his profession of the Moslem faith, must send us a letter, and we will respect and protect him in the possession of his property.

We notify unto you also, that we are arrived at the head quarters of Seood, and that, with the will of God, I shall come among you with a great army; and the zealous ardour which animates us in the battle will instruct you.

He that sends us not his declaration, will not find acceptance when afterwards he shall come to present himself unto us.

We shall be with you, please God, in the Feast of the Dehie*; and we exhort you to accept this, to the end that there may be no difference between you and us.

(Without date.)

* What the Osmanlis call the *Korban Bairam*, or Feast of the Sacrifice, which fell this year (1808) on the 5th of February.

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MONEY, WEIGHTS, AND MEASURES.

THE name and effigy of the Grand Signior are still impressed on all money issued from the mint in Egypt. This establishment is under the control of the Viceroy, who appoints a director, by whom all its details are regulated.

The present coinage of Egypt consists of—

		s.	d.
The Maboub sequin	equal to	9	0
The half ditto		4	6
The quarter ditto		2	3
The piastre		0	3
The 20 para piece		0	1½
The piece of 10 paras		0	0¾
The 5 para piece		0	0¼

The *medins* have been long withdrawn from circulation, the government reserving them for making remittances to Constantinople, Syria, and the Archipelago. The dealing in these coins forms a very lucrative branch of trade, formerly monopolised by the Greek merchants.

The following moneys are also used in mercantile transactions: —

The Spanish quadruple.
The Venetian sequin.
The Dutch ducat.
The Hungarian sequin.
The Spanish piastre.
The German talari.*
The Mahmoudyieh.
The Fondoukly, half and quarter.
The Bechlek, ditto, ditto.
The Eyklik, ditto, ditto.
The Maboub, ditto, ditto.

The course of exchange is regulated by the value of the talari, which, like the Spanish quadruple and piastre, always retains a

* Twelve piastres and a half.

fixed and certain value. These coins are much sought after, being extremely rare.

The imaginary coins known to commerce are, —

	s.	d.
The gold dinar	10	7½
The Fondoukly	0	11
The Maboub	0	9
The Patak	0	6¾
Dirhem	0	5¾
The sixty para piece	0	4½

Every other kind of European money, for which there is no fixed rate of exchange, is valued by the money changers, who buy and sell on speculation.

Lineary Measures.

The measures adopted throughout the whole of Egypt, are —

The Peek Stambooli, for articles of foreign manufacture	18 inches.
The Peek Hendâzeh, for linens, &c. brought by the Red Sea	16½
The Peek belady, for home manufactures	18

Measures of Quantity.

The ardeb is the only measure of this sort; it varies in size considerably throughout the different provinces of Upper Egypt.

The Caireen ardeb, for wheat	5 bushels.	
The Rosetta ditto, for ditto	8	
The Damietta ditto, for rice	225 okes	= 687¾ lbs.
The Rosetta ditto, for ditto	156	= 429

Weights.

For these there exists no fixed standard; the rotle and oke differing with the nature of the merchandise whose value is to be ascertained.

The great rotle for spun cotton	180 drachmæ.
The rotle for polished amber	105
The common ditto	144
The oke for coral and transparent amber	420
The common oke	400

The value of the precious metals, diamonds, pearls, &c. is calculated by

The mitkal	- -	24 carats, or	96 grains.
The drachm	- -	16	64
The carat	- -	- -	6.

Jemaleddin. Annal. Rer. Ægypt. not. p. 3.—
Mengin, Hist. de l'Egypte, ii. 435. *sqq.*

THE END.

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